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ABSTRACT

The American Studies Association (ASA) is an interprofessional group, representing a cross-section of persons from American literature, American history, the social sciences, philosophy, archeology, Black Studies, Urban Studies, American Studies, and others. This document by the ASA Commission on the Status of Women includes: (1) a report of the ASA Commission on the Status of Women; (2) a report on American studies courses, programs of women's studies courses, contemporary issues courses, literature courses, history courses, and social science courses; and (3) a collage of news, views, reviews, overviews, and deja vus. (KE)

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american women and american studies

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betty e. chmaj

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american studies association

commission on the status of women

Professor Carlene Blanchard, Bowling Green State University
Professor Blanche Geltant, State University of New York-Syracuse
Professor Robert Merideth, University of California-Davis
Ms. Lois Rudnick, Brown University, ASA Student Representative
Professor Lillian Schlissel, Brooklyn College
Professor Betty E. Chmaj, ASA Councilmember from Michigan, Chairwoman

Women's Free Press

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CC Kleinsorge

Kathryn Domurath

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introduction

Every great social movement makes its own contributions to rhetoric and methodology. Eventually its terms and techniques are absorbed into the culture, but there is always a period of time when the general public is not yet at ease with certain forms the cognoscenti have long since taken for granted. For the women's movement in American universities, the summer of 1971 seemed to be such a time.

Among the forms to which the movement had become accustomed by then were the Commission and the Questionnaire. At a time when their non-academic neighbors were still embarrassed by the terms "consciousness-raising" and "male chauvinism" and still thought "Ms." an awkward form of address, women in the professions were speaking of Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 and of organizations bearing such initials as WEAL, NOW, WLM, and AAUP's Committee W. At a time when their male colleagues were just discovering that the "classics" on feminist reading lists included (to name a few) Plato, John Stuart Mill, Aphra Behn, Henry Adams, Marx and Engels, Virginia Woolf's "A Room of One's Own," Gunnar Myrdal's Appendix V, and David Potter; when sensation-seekers still thought the movement was primarily about the clitoral orgasm and bra-burning and Norman Mailer; when America at large was still lumbering slowly toward a "new definition of normal" in sex and family relationships, women in the professions were looking to the commission and the questionnaire as potential means to help force universities to begin obeying the law.

Nothing in the history of the New Feminism had focussed the energies of these academic women as effectively as the investigations of universities during the year 1971 by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, beginning with the dramatic precedent at the University of Michigan late in 1970. Pressured by "women's caucuses," university administrators and professional associations appointed official "commissions on the status of women" to prove or disprove that the kind of discrimination HEW was investigating existed, as well as to explore the broad range of university policies affecting women, at individual universities and within the individual professions. To obtain the information they needed, these commissions and other groups came to rely on the Questionnaire. Questionnaires came in several varieties: there were

questionnaires to women faculty to determine facts about their status; questionnaires to students, male and female, to examine their "role outlooks" or measure the effect upon them of the miseducation by their elders; "consciousness-raising" questionnaires to male faculty aimed at ferreting out their stereotypes; questionnaires to department chairmen (an endless stream) to get hard data on the credentials, salaries, promotions and duties of the women in the department.

The American Studies Association, after some urging on my part, also created its Commission on the Status of Women. When President Robert Walker asked me to chair this commission, I was reluctant to do so; I was also reluctant that same year to chair the sessions on women for the National Convention when asked to do so by my Michigan colleague Bob Sklar. My reluctance was grounded in reasons which, as I was eventually to discover, did not after all make me unique, and I accepted both tasks for the same reason other women in similar dilemmas had accepted: once asked (by men), I could not see a way to refuse. Given the scope of the jobs involved, it would mean postponing my own scholarly work for at least a year, and I saw the irony in the effect of such a decision upon my own "status":

But since I was the one who had raised the issue in the profession in the first place, and since I was the only woman--and very possibly the first woman--on the ASA Executive Council, how could I justify saying no? (Despite the grief, I am glad I did not; I will have more to say on the personal side at a later time.)

In due course, our ASA Commission on Women also mailed out a questionnaire, after my own initial resistance to the idea was overcome by excellent arguments in the letters of other commissioners. It is one of the purposes of the present publication to report the findings of that effort.

But since American Studies as an interdisciplinary program and the American Studies Association as an interprofessional group are uniquely related to the other professions, the story to be told in this report is also, to a large extent, unique. The 2063 names on the ASA mailing list represent a cross-section of persons from American literature, American history, the social sciences, and such varied fields as philosophy, archaeology, Black Studies, Urban Studies, and others, in addition to those who, like myself, identify with American Studies as such. The 310 responses we received to the questionnaire also reflect this cross-section of the disciplines. About 15% of the membership, representing 182 universities or other educational institutions returned responses within the first three weeks, including 22% of the 393 women in the ASA membership. Thus the responses to the questionnaire, when joined to other current writings and reports, give a good sampling of Americanists in the several fields from universities across the country.

The questionnaire that reached the membership was a composite of the several possible kinds other organizations had used. It had one page for women alone, one page asking for the statistics that only program chairmen could provide, several questions aimed at universities in general, others aimed at American Studies in particular, and a number of personal-opinion and consciousness-raising types of questions (it was these that made the questionnaire, in the minds of some, "explosive"). Respondents were urged to answer only the questions they could and to add such additional materials, or explanations on separate sheets or letters, as they wished.

To assess the questionnaire results and prepare a set of resolutions to be presented to the Association, several members of the ASA Commission on Women held meetings during the last weeks of July (excepting Professors Merideth and Schlissel, the members from California and Brooklyn, who participated in the decisions through letters and conference calls). Although we had retreated to a camp in the Michigan woods for these lengthy work-sessions, even here there was no escaping the daily impact of "women's lib."

One weekend, the Sunday funnies brought a bedtime story in a comic strip called "Eek and Meek" that began:

> MOTHER TO CHILD: Tonight I'm going to tell you the story of the three little male chauvinist pigs . . .

Less obvious but more pertinent in the same set of funnies were the voices that floated up from the current Girl-Boy story in "Mary Worth":

> SHE: Now if you don't mind ..... I'm working on a term paper for Dr. Cutler ..... and she'll be furious if she comes home and finds I haven't finished it! ..... So ...
>
> HE: Okay! But, before I leave...I'm going to level with you, Betty!...Chris doesn't deserve a beautiful doll like you!

Another day, questionnaire respondents sent clippings about young Sharon Poole, the softball player who was booted from her Little League team for being a girl--and for being better than her male competitors. The evening news showed another youngster building a car to enter into the soap box derby, the male interviewer catching the mother saying, "I'm not against her going into the derby, but sometimes I wish she'd act more like a girl."

At mid-week, the courier from my office brought an excited message: "You've got to go back to town! HEW is coming to Wayne tomorrow!" (Like other universities, Wayne State had been waiting eagerly for the investigators who had been held up in Pittsburgh for what seemed an interminable length of time, since January. HEW's coming to my university when they did, while I was in the middle of a national project on women, struck me as strangely appropriate.) The same day's mail brought a flyer from the University of Hawaii, apparently sent to all American Studies chairmen to post on bulletin boards, that announced "DOCTORAL OFFERINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND AMERICAN STUDIES" and listed the names of a faculty of twenty: not one was a woman! (Before that summer, would I have noticed? Did they? Should women in history and American Studies be urged to boycott the program?) I vaguely recall my eleven-year-old saying over lunch one day that I should meet so-and-so's mother because "she's a libbie too" (so that's what we were in our children's eyes, LIBBIES??); and after a hard day's work calculating percentages, the two students sharing my cabin turned on the television to see what was happening on the Late Lates out in the boondocks. Howls of derision filled the night air as Humphrey Bogart, as a 1930's gangster just nailed by the FBI, gasped his last words: "Do me a favor, Doc--Don't tell 'em dat a dame tripped me up!" There was no escaping The Subject, even in our quest for comic relief.

What made some of these incidents seem so bizarre was their essential frivolousness and superficiality in contrast to the very real and very serious evidence we had before us, demonstrating that all too many of the women in America with stunted ambitions and broken lives were to be found in our own profession. Here were women who had succeeded in bucking the Feminine Mystique, who had made commitments to careers and seen them through (no "Happy Housewife Heroines" in the lot), only to find themselves passed over and ignored, forced into inadequate jobs, refused promotion, and punished in a dozen different ways simply for being women.

The story that emerged with greatest force from our questionnaire results was the women's story; for this reason, I have made it the subject of Chapter One of the report. Carnie Blanchard, the first of the commissioners to begin piecing this story together, is probably right in calling the woman's page "the real Pandora's box" of the questionnaire (as one respondent in fact had termed it). I think all of us who read the accounts told by the individual

women, 85% of whom reported that they had experienced discrimination in their careers and had lived in pain with "the rage," came through the experience moved and changed; indeed, we found it well to take "relief breaks" from reading these reports to keep from becoming depressed. My one regret is that the impact of these stories may in part be lost due to the need to withhold information that might endanger anonymity and violate our promise to keep these accounts confidential.

Second only to the story the women told, in terms of emotional impact, was another story that emerged, quite unsolicited and unsuspected, not so much from the answers to questions as from scrawled marginalia, letters and comments appended by respondents, and writings related to the issues. I have called this story "What the Thunder Said" and made it Chapter Four, following the more straightforward accounts on General University Policies and Practices, the subject of Chapter Two, and the American Studies Story, the subject of Chapter Three. As the title suggests, "What the Thunder Said" has to do with expressions of anger and irritation (including anger over the questionnaire itself), the intensity of emotion and degree of polarization related to the issue being examined. As Chapter One gives space to women with strong feelings to express, Chapter Four, as things turned out, gives complementary room to the men.

The intervening chapters, Two and Three, provide an overview of women in universities, in the first case, and women in American Studies, in the second. Part of Chapter Two is a report of questionnaire respondents' answers to questions about their universities, a report which is in close accord with findings by other professional associations. Chapter Three reveals a special angle of vision and a special challenge in the relationship of women to American Studies and the American Studies Association.

Following the chapter on the thunderings, Chapter Five deals with the most controversial section of the questionnaire, the "Postscripts." There were two of these, the first asking for a scale rating of a "Typical Female Faculty Member" to be compared to, and measured against, another scale rating of an "Ideal Faculty Member" (male or female). The second Postscript asked for agreement or disagreement with 29 statements about stereotyped attitudes and behavior relating to university policies toward women. These two questions were lifted from a questionnaire in use by the Commission on Women at the University of California, Davis; it was sent to me along with a large assortment of other material by Commissioner Robert Merideth. I found the questions, frankly, incredible; that was precisely what fascinated me about them (more on this in the chapter). They came across my desk at about the time the envelopes were being typed, and I added them--as the title says--as postscripts, afterthoughts, primarily to alleviate what then seemed to me an essentially dull questionnaire.

Chapter Six, "Resolutions," is quite deliberately intended to be the climax of the Commission's report. It contains the two-part set of resolutions that represent the recommendation the Commission of the Status of Women, upon completing its study, is making to the Association. As such, the chapter also serves as a summary of the issues discussed in the volume to that point. These resolutions involved the collaborative effort of the entire commission but Blanche Gelfant, aided by Lois Rudnick and C.C. Kleinsorge, should be singled out for helping me on the actual writing. We would like to acknowledge the resolutions and reports from the following professional associations and colleges, which we read in our effort to find the appropriate models for our own organization:Modern Language Association, American Psychological Association's Association for Women Psychologists, American Historical Association, Organization of American Historians, African Studies Association, American Sociological Association, Harvard University Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Yale University's Sub-Committee for the HEW Review, Brown University's AAUP, Indiana University's AAUP, the AAUP at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the University of Chicago, the University of Florida, the

University of California at Davis, the women's caucus of the State University of New York at Syracuse and Buffalo, University of Maryland - Baltimore's New University Conference, University of Kansas's AAUP, and Wayne State University's Project 6-15; and the Guidelines of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Among these, we found that the reports from Indiana, Brown, Wayne State, MLA, and APA provided the best models.

A final brief chapter in this section I reserved for "Some Room of My Own," in order that I might comment on matters that seemed too subjective to be permitted into the report itself.

A shortened version of the questionnaire will be found on pp. xiii-xiv, at the end of this introduction. The original version was eight pages long, of which one page was for women only (this may be found on p.xvi) and four were given to the two "Postscript" questions (hereafter called Postscript One and Postscript Two). In the version printed here, some of the details of questions have been omitted and those discussed at length in Chapter Two are not repeated here.

Part Two of the book is largely self-explanatory, consisting of a collection of twenty-five syllabi and descriptions for courses on American women grouped under the headings of American Studies, American History, American Literature, Social Sciences, and Current Issues. My thanks to all who gave permission and sent their outlines and bibliographies, along with commentaries. Two program outlines were sent as well, one by Gayle Hollander from the Five College Program and one by SUNY-Buffalo's American Studies Program; since these seemed to me of interest in themselves and in contrast to one another, I added them to the roster.

This kind of presentation of material seemed to me the most valuable service to provide not only to potential teachers of such courses, nor even primarily for them, but also to all who need to acquaint themselves with the writing and research in the field of women's studies, the kinds of approaches to teaching and analysis that are possible and popular, and the debates over sources and spokesmen that are now in progress. Sometimes these controversies are presented by the instructor through deft outlining and ordering of topics; sometimes the reader will find them emerging in more subtle ways (e.g., try looking to see which history text of feminism is used). The limits on this brief collection, of course, are determined by the limits of American Studies--I selected syllabi on American women and American culture only (although at times the instructors do break out of this parochialism).

In Part III, "Collage: News and Views, Overviews, Previews, Reviews, and Déjà Vus," the reader will find just that (but should appreciate that the subtitle was gleefully agreed upon before the material available was parcelled into the sections). He or she will find considerable variety among the articles and entries. They do not represent, by any means, a single point of view, and they are of differing lengths and degrees of seriousness. Some of these pieces were selected because they support the content in the rest of the volume; some deal with such themes as American stereotypes and myths, black/female parallels, and special perspectives on American culture--themes and ideas, that is, that seemed especially appropriate to American Studies; some demonstrate the varieties of scholarship that are possible and the many directions to be explored. I requested some of the pieces especially for this volume, but most of them were sent to us, or we quoted from the sources (always trying to quote enough to provide context but not so much as to be guilty of publishing without permission). I am grateful to all who contributed. I wish to express particular gratitude to MOVING OUT, the publication of Wayne Women's Liberation, for its generous policy of granting blanket approval for all of its material for such uses as this. (Many liberation publications seem to be favoring this policy--a genuine gesture of sisterhood!) Alta's "miss rite to travel," Marge Piercy's "Barbie Doll," Geneva Smitherman's "The Socialization of Black Girls," the excerpt from Andrea Solomon's "Groupies," and Patricia Lowing's "If I Were Cinderella" are from MOVING OUT, Number 1, March 1971--copyrights by the authors.

LITTLE THINGS DEPARTMENT. (1) Although conceived as a book and called a "volume" throughout, the format and binding we settled upon may suggest to some readers that the word "publication" is more appropriate to this collection. They are welcome to make that substitution mentally whenever they come upon the word volume. (2) To know the sex of a respondent quoted, look at the number of digits in the citation. Women's questionnaires were numbered from 1 to 85 (two digits), men's from 501 upward (three digits). (3) After the first 15%, questionnaires continued to come in while we were writing, even after the July deadline indicated; the late arrivals, while they could not be included in all the statistical surveys, were quoted whenever possible in the chapters still in progress. The chapters were written in this order: #1, #6, #4, #2, #3, #5, and #7, although the whole was conceived well in advance. (4) Pedants and others will be upset by occasional inconsistencies--in the use or non-use of quotation marks for indented material; the use of CAPITAL LETTERS on some occasions, underlining on others, for titles. If explanations are in order, the reason for the former is an occasional need to indicate direct quotation where quoted and unquoted material appear similar on the page; the reason for the latter is that less carbon ribbon is consumed by capital letters than for underlining, yet occasionally double titles, or other uses of capitals, required a return to the more familiar convention. Besides, the two typists had styles of their own and their own ideas on whether variety, clarity or consistency should be the dominant guide in making such decisions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. It is Labor Day, 1972. We have been in the woods now for seven weeks, working to put out this "publication." During the first two weeks, we were joined intermittently by three of the commissioners on the ASA Commission on the Status of Women, Carnie Blanchard, Blanche Gelfart, and Lois Rudnick (for three to five days each). On the days when their visits overlapped, we spent time in meetings to agree on the resolutions, the groundwork for these meetings having been prepared through letters and the final steps having been taken through the conference telephone call to the others. To all the commissioners, for their letters, their presence, their suggestions and contributions, and for that special sense of kinship that made it possible for me to continue in the face of setbacks, my very special thanks. My thanks to Art Dudden and Bob Walker of ASA for their support.

To my husband John and our children John Stefan and Maria, my thanks and love as well--for managing without me for the duration, for working with me on charts and percentages when they could, and for being who they are at a time when I was writing what I wrote on the subject I had at hand.

But the two persons I must single out as those "without whom this book could not have been written" are my research assistants, CC Kleinsorge and Kathryn Domurath. Between them, they not only typed the entire manuscript but helped research and compile, reacted to my ideas and prose, shared the harrowing and hilarious moments with me, ever prepared the meals under cabin conditions. Both were students of mine, and CC was my assistant at the university; I cannot imagine how I shall get on without her. After five weeks work, she had to leave for New York, where she will begin her graduate work at Columbia University (thus her identity on the roster of commissioners--she is really an "unnamed" commissioner herself). That was when Kathy took over and, thanks to the role her husband Bud played in taking over child care and household duties (you see how the subject-matter the volume deals with intruded upon our own lives), she was able to help me see the project through to its completion. Tomorrow the manuscript will be on its way to Joanne Gardner's KNOW, INC., to be printed and distributed by Women's Free Press, my thanks for their interest and care as well. Tomorrow the Domuraths will be going to Pontiac, where Kathy hopes she may help to start a street academy. I will be going back to Detroit, to Wayne State, to a host of other projects waiting for me. I think I can say the three of us will be leaving the woods for as good a reason as we came: we have other lives to live.

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

QUESTIONNAIRE ON WOMEN TO ASA MEMBERS

Directions: Answer whichever questions you can. (Not all respondents will be able to answer all of the questions.) Use additional sheets of paper if needed. Attach materials wherever you can. Names of respondents and sources of information will be kept strictly confidential.

GENERAL AND PERSONAL INFORMATION (For statistical purposes only)

1. Describe or label your present relation to American Studies in terms of occupation, rank, years, other departments or identities:

2. How long have you been engaged professionally in American Studies? . . .

3. Name and address of present institution _____
May we include your institution's name in our report? _____

4. Is American Studies at your institution a department? a program? other? Characterize the particular emphases that you feel identify AS at your institution:

5. How long has AS been on your campus? _____ How large a program do you have, in terms of the approximate number of student majors _____, average number of students in AS classes _____, number of AS classes offered annually _____ number of faculty who teach AS classes _____ (full time? _____; part-time? _____)

6. MAJORS. As of June 1971, how many majors do you have and how many of these are women? How does this number compare to past years?

	UNDERGRAD: Total / # Women	GRAD M.A.: Total / # Women	PH.D.: Total / # Women
1971			
1970			
etc.			

Do you know the total number of majors your school has graduated to date?

UNDERGRAD: Total / % Women	GRAD M.A.: Total/ % Women	PH.D.: Total / % Women

7 CLASSES. In AS classes you taught or attended in the past few years (core courses, seminars, etc), how many students were there and how many of these were women?

TERM & YEAR	NAME OF CLASS	TOTAL ENROLLED	# OF WOMEN
(1)			
(2)			
etc.			

8. Have you or others you know ever thought of AS as a curriculum especially well suited or ill suited for women? _____ If so, why? Cite any evidence, such as changes in course topics or curriculum at your institution affecting female enrollment.

9. (Answers not used for report)

10. PERSONAL OPINION. With regard to the women's movement generally and its impact on your campus and program specifically, in your opinion:

A. how great is the problem of discrimination based on sex?

B. how great, comparatively, is the problem in AS?

C. have you been aware of inequities between men and women of the same competence, maturity, skill, preparation, etc.?

D. have you been aware of forms of discrimination, overt or covert, at your campus? can you cite instances in point?

E. do you feel you are well informed on the issues?

F. how would you characterize "women's lib" generally?

G. have you been aware of any special pertinence of the movement to AS?

11. COURSES ON WOMEN. Has your institution offered, or is it planning to offer, courses in AS on women? (Consider also courses on sexual identity in America, or the American family, etc.) Are there courses on women to be offered in other departments which AS majors will be (required, encouraged) to attend? . . .

QUESTIONNAIRE, Continued

12. "WOMAN-CONTENT" IN EXISTING COURSES. David Potter, for one, long ago pointed out that much of our study of American national character is in reality based on the character of the American male alone and that many of our interpretations of American culture, such as the Turner thesis, are heavily sex-typed, with presumptions of male chauvinism built in. In your existing AS courses, do you find any evidence of similar "covert" biases? Check sex of authors on lists of books you use: _____ Check sex of major figures studied: _____ Check out whether topics you choose tend to focus on the history and behavior of the American male, male heroes, etc.: _____. In general, then, what would you say is the 'woman-content' of your existing courses? PLEASE EXTEND YOUR ANSWER ON A SEPARATE SHEET IF YOU WISH.

13. & 14. See pp. 42-47, in Chapter Two.

15. Would you like to see the ASA pass a series of resolutions similar to those passed by MLA, AHA, & other professional associations on the subject of American women? If so, name and rank the areas you feel are more important. (See Chap. Six & page 78.)

Postscript ~

STEREOTYPES. Below is a section of a questionnaire being used at the University of California - Davis. We thought it would be interesting to see what ASA members themselves would do with it.

I. "PLEASE INDICATE YOUR IMMEDIATE FIRST IMPRESSION OF WHAT A TYPICAL FEMALE FACULTY MEMBER IS LIKE BY PLACING AN X ALONG EACH DIMENSION IN THE APPROPRIATE AREA. [On the left]

"For example, if there were a "warm . . . cold" dimension, and your immediate impression of a female faculty member is of one who is fairly cold, then you would mark an X in the area closer to the "cold" end of the continuum, depending on the degree desired.

warm _____ X _____, cold

"NOW PLEASE MARK EACH OF THE FOLLOWING DIMENSIONS ACCORDING TO THE SAME INSTRUCTIONS, BUT THIS TIME FOR YOUR IMPRESSION OF WHAT AN IDEAL FACULTY MEMBER (EITHER MALE OR FEMALE) WOULD BE. [On the right]

TYPICAL FEMALE FACULTY MEMBER			IDEAL FACULTY MEMBER (Male or female)		
tense	1 2 3 4 5 6	calm	tense	1 2 3 4 5 6	calm
passive	1 2 3 4 5 6	aggressive	passive	1 2 3 4 5 6	aggressive
dependent	1 2 3 4 5 6	independent	dependent	1 2 3 4 5 6	independent
emotional	1 2 3 4 5 6	unemotional	emotional	1 2 3 4 5 6	logical
feminine	1 2 3 4 5 6	masculine	feminine	1 2 3 4 5 6	masculine
irrational	1 2 3 4 5 6	rational	irrational	1 2 3 4 5 6	rational
unproductive	1 2 3 4 5 6	productive	unproductive	1 2 3 4 5 6	productive
open	1 2 3 4 5 6	closed	open	1 2 3 4 5 6	closed
demanding	1 2 3 4 5 6	accepting	demanding	1 2 3 4 5 6	accepting
ambitious	1 2 3 4 5 6	unambitious	ambitious	1 2 3 4 5 6	unambitious
cooperative	1 2 3 4 5 6	competitive	cooperative	1 2 3 4 5 6	competitive

II. Postscript Two. See pp. 98-104. To give yourself the test, cover the answers on the right and check the appropriate box.

ERRATA PAGE

Corrections on First Printing of AMERICAN WOMEN AND AMERICAN STUDIES

(underlining denotes corrections)

p. iv, no. 11; Roberta Salper
p. xii, para. 4, line 14; Jo-ann Gardner
p. xvi, no. 1, line 2; marital status
p. 13, para. 1, line 3; has come as a by-product
p. 46, para. 2, line 1; publicize
p. 79, para. 1, line 7; unwieldy
p. 88, para. 2, line 8; Read "their /sic/" for "there /sic/." My point here in adding the "sic" was that a man who cannot even spell "there" correctly is sure the reason he did not get hired was that women are now being preferred. But the subtlety of my admittedly sly comment was lost when a conscientious proof-reader corrected his spelling error!--B.C.
p. 122, para. 2, line 4; dates
p. 152, para. 3, line 1; coordinating materials
p. 161, line 10, "The Art of Maiming Women"
p. 181, Week 8, line 2; The actual
p. 202, 3B, line 6; is traditionally underpaid
p. 203, D, line 15; is the male-female
p. 203, D, line 16; is the difference
p. 223, line 21; Women's Liberation
p. 255, para. 1, line 13; crystallized

NOTES

(1) We are aware that bibliographic style--and in some cases content--in the course outlines is inconsistent and/or incomplete. They are reproduced as submitted, for the most part, except where we felt small clarifications might be useful to potential designers of similar courses.

(2) Occasionally, the reader will find the last letter or two, or the appropriate punctuation mark, missing from the right-hand margin of a closely-typed page. This is obviously because the printing-plate could not accomodate typists' errors when they exceeded marginal limits. In most cases, the reader should have no difficulty in guessing correctly at the missing mark or letter.

(3) Our apologies to Jessie Bernard for the several ways her name has been misspelled throughout the book.

Part I: REPORT

This chapter is the result of joint authorship by Commissioners Blanchard, Gelfant, Rudnick and Chmaj. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and admiration the contributions of the other three. One section of Dr. Blanchard's part arrived too late to be included in the chapter proper; it is called "Double Take: The Peculiar Phenomenon" and may be found in Part III. -bc

FOR WOMEN ONLY (FROM PAGE 4, ASA QUESTIONNAIRE ON WOMEN)

1. At each stage of your career, as outlined in Part I, #2, were you aware of discrimination against you because of sex, marital statue, or having children? If so, which stages especially? Why, do you think?

2. Can you cite instances of discrimination against you as evidenced in: salary, rank, duties, provision for maternity leave & child care, etc.; in personal treatment by colleagues, giveaway phrases or comments made during interviews, and the like?
NOTE: CASES OF DISCRIMINATION ARE DIFFICULT TO DOCUMENT, AND PEOPLE ARE RELUCTANT TO ACCUSE WITHOUT PROOF. WE REALIZE AND RESPECT THIS. WHAT WE WANT TO KNOW IS YOUR OWN SUBJECTIVE VIEW OF HOW YOU WERE TREATED: INFORMATION IS TO BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL, OF COURSE.

3. What effect did you find it had on you to discover, or suspect, that you were being discriminated against? (e.g., self-doubt? humiliation? rage? confusion? powerlessness? helplessness? embarrassment? other?)

4. Have you ever made use of legally constituted agencies for redress or grievances, or simply to let them know of your case, such as ACLU, AAUP, WEAL, AFL, your own university's grievance machinery, etc.? Have you lent your support to such agencies? If you have used them, with what results? (e.g., "their sympathy reinforced me at a time I needed it," "general sympathy but no results," "they simply make my case a subject for gossip," "they helped me in subtle ways.") Would you go to such agencies again?

5. In your teaching, have you reviewed the extent to which you yourself have concentrated on American history as the history made by men alone, American literature written by men, American character as that shaped by men, etc.?

6. Are you aware these days of being regarded as a "role model" to students, especially women? Explain, cite, add anecdotes, etc.

7. What do you think the ASA Commission on the Status of Women should be concerned with primarily? Academic interests--courses on women and sex roles, etc.? Discrimination in pay, promotion, hiring etc.? Symbolic discrimination in the ASA, AQ, & the profession itself?

8. While you're at it, comment on this questionnaire and suggest wording for other (better?) questions that might have been asked---

from women only

"From Women Only" presents a composite picture of the experiences of women in ASA as they reported it through answers to the eight questions on the page of the questionnaire sent to women alone. These questions were directed toward discovering the way universities have treated women and the way women have responded. They attempted to go beyond the usual documentation of overt, obvious cases and asked women to share their own subjective view of how they were treated, asking them, for example, "What effect did you find it had on you to discover, or suspect, that you were being discriminated against? (e.g., self-doubt? humiliation? rage? confusion? powerlessness? embarrassment? other?)" The answers, appended letters, and marginalia of our women respondents--varied as they are--assume a coherence of form and meaning. They tell a story that has a recurrent pattern and theme.

That story assuredly begins long before graduate school days, but it is at this point that we must begin:

> As a graduate student, I was not taken seriously . . . . Male students tended to think I was entertaining myself before marriage. One of my professors told me I shouldn't worry my pretty head about Faulkner but should bake chocolate cakes instead. Another gave me a B instead of an A because he didn't waste A's on women. I was not hired in many places because I was a woman and told so. (23)

> Admissions policy in grad school is completely left to the individual departments, but it's generally known that GRE scores for women must be higher. The University . . . [accepted] a resolution that admission standards for women be stiffened because of the tightening job market and the "fact" that men need a chance to get ahead of "girls" who are more mature than they are when they enter school . . . . (17)

Here, in our questionnaire, begins the story of discriminatory treatment of women. The debasement of women as graduate students is either couched in amiable terms, condescending and damaging to the woman's sense of herself, or anonymous, hidden behind GRE scores and university policies established by unseen councils. "Not serious" and also "a bad risk"--these terms

become the refrain the woman graduate student hears despite her high performance, despite her inner sense of commitment.

> No real expectations for me as a future scholar--assumption that I did not really "need" a job because I was married. (19)
>
> As a woman I was considered a bad risk. Told women don't produce as much as male professionals. (6)
>
> . . . certain faculty members expressed reluctance about having women in graduate school. (31)
>
> As an undergraduate I was informed by an instructor that married women with children should be at home--my grade was affected in that course. In grad school I was told to major in lit because history departments hire men only! (32)
>
> I was actively discouraged from continuing to a PhD by one department chairman . . . (25)
>
> Graduate years--male attitude was "It's an education to be wasted; she won't teach long." (59)
>
> One member of the American Culture grad committee was hostile and challenged my reasons for entering the program. (Other women too.) I think he was ambivalent in his attitude toward women and only when they demonstrated superiority did he accept or respect them. (58)
>
> What I'm trying to say is that I began my work taking myself seriously--but I was the only one. (80)
>
> As a graduate student I was frequently asked by male teachers to write on subjects which they thought were "suitable" for women. A history professor was especially offensive in his constant reference to "female" historians. (37)

Nine voices from nine women in different parts of the country, at universities large and small. In themselves, as isolated cases, such instances could seem innocuous and fleeting; but discrimination takes on harsh practical implications early in a woman's career.

A graduate department may unilaterally discriminate against women by refusing assistantships and fellowships.

> Women not given assistantships in either history or political science at U. of Minnesota. (14)
>
> As far as I know the University American Studies program has never given one of its two NDEA fellowships to a woman. (17)

The woman is told explicitly that to prove her seriousness she should not marry, and if she does marry, she should not have children.

> As a student . . . professors discouraged marriage--especially as a grad student on NDEA Title IV Fellowship . . . . [they] felt I'd fink out and never finish PhD. (33)
>
> It wasn't marriage so much as having children that hurt me with the fellowships people. I'd won every scholarship I'd ever applied for, & one I hadn't, on the strength of HPA, etc. until I suddenly became a mother and really needed help--then couldn't get it, from ACLS or even (ironically) AAUW. When I was told why, I was dumbfounded. (68)

> In interviews for grad school at _____ in 1964 I was lectured on family planning, told about how women faculty had let the department down by getting pregnant. At _____ in 1968 I was also lectured about not having children and told not to apply for money because it would be given to qualified men first. I was later told that there was some "extra" money and a week before the start of the fall semester I received a tuition scholarship. (75)

Marriage and children, which support the male student's bid for being taken seriously, jeopardize a woman's future. They do so clearly in the matter of financial aid. For instances of discriminatory practices in the granting of Woodrow Wilson fellowships alone, three women volunteered evidence. The first was told during her interview that "I would probably marry and have children"; although she ranked at the top of her college class in academics and leadership, she was not granted the fellowship. The second was informed by the male chairman of her undergraduate English department that although her rank and scholastic record should win her the fellowship, she would most likely not win it because she was married. True enough, she did not win. The third respondent was informed that she was "aided in receiving a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship because I did not inform the committee that I was to be married before I went to graduate school." In applications of every sort--for part-time jobs or to graduate school as well as for grants, women students tell of being warned against marriage and child-bearing.

"MAKING IT": HIRING, SALARIES, TENURE, PROMOTION

If a graduate woman does not "fink out" but continues to climb the ladder, she encounters the next phase of discrimination, now becoming more blatant: the new woman PhD encounters differential treatment in hiring.

> I have been told by 2 deans that (1) men are preferred by faculty, administration and students [as teachers], and (2) women without PhD's have preference over women with PhD's for budgetary reasons. (12)

> 1st job: not considered for full time position, though professionally qualified. Placed on lower rank and salary. 2nd job: no provision for regular part-time employment, am held at "visiting" status. (28)

> When seeking a full-time teaching position in a 35-member dep't (all male) I was one of two ultimately considered. The one offered the job was a male and I was told (in strictest confidence) that two males in the dep't would not vote for me; after all, I had a husband! (11)

The woman's personal life--whether she is married, divorced, separated or has children--is considered a relevant factor in her application, although clearly it is not relevant in the consideration of male applicants. One woman reported her worst moments to be when male chairmen learned she was divorced: "It was as if I was a reproach to their marriages--they seemed to take it personally." That she had greater need of financial security because she had a family to support might have seemed a logical conclusion, but "it certainly never occurred to any of them to see my situation as parallel to a man's then." Another said: "Some discrimination--when divorced. To a degree in promotion. Harder to get increment than male (single or married) because of this." (16)

Anti-nepotism policies reflect another and crucial way in which universities force a woman's personal life to jeopardize--if not, indeed, to end--her career. One woman, incensed with the entire questionnaire, insisted she had had no difficulties:

> A woman (wife) moves when her husband relocates. I did not find this difficult. (4)

Indeed she did not, as evidenced by her rank as associate professor eleven years after a Harvard PhD. But many more women--and one man--report of cases less fortunate. The women tell of feeling "trapped" because they choose to follow their husband's geographic trail--and anti-nepotism is the trap: they cannot get hired where their husbands teach at ranks equivalent to their abilities. If they do get hired, they suffer the humiliation of inferior, temporary, or secondary status.

> I am regarded as a "faculty wife" by the administration and for several years received a lower salary. (32)

> . . . my wife [writes a man] has been fighting for years (until just lately--when she finally won the battle) for full professional recognition in terms of rank, tenure, and pay. In addition, our AAUP chapter through its Committee W has been pressing vigorously--and making some headway. But it's slow, rough going--and I can't be very proud of my two areas--History and American Studies--for their record on non-employment of women. (680)

> Although I have an impressive vita, the department chairman of _____ confessed to me that when I first handed it to him (I was then a faculty wife), he did not even examine it or offer my name as a job candidate. (77)

What possible reply, given the prevailing values of American culture and the practices of American universities, can be given, for example, to a cry for help as simple and sincere as this one?

> Dear ASA:
>
> I received a PhD and taught three years, becoming increasingly interested in American Studies. Then I got married to a man who also taught history. I knew that if I got married my teaching career would be ended or at least limited. Such has been the case. We have moved twice. The college my husband is now located at has an unspoken and unwritten rule against nepotism. The other colleges nearby are reducing their departments because of the economic situation. I keep up in my field, have published one article and am working on another just in case there is an opening. My husband is extremely sympathetic.
>
> I realize I am not the only woman who is trained and educated forced to stay home because she is married. I feel hopeless and really don't know what to do.
>
> Sincerely, ---------- (2)

If the woman feels trapped it is because she <u>is</u> trapped, and a sympathetic husband--who is very frequently a part of the academic woman's story--cannot help very much. One woman reported that department chairmen simply did not believe her when she told them during interviews that her husband was willing to move, as many now are, to allow her to continue her career. Whether

husbands will agree to move if their jobs continue to pay more than those their wives were offered, however, is another question.

For once the woman has a job, the next stage of discrimination appears in the form of lower salary, lower rank, or some kind of "irregular" appointment that pays at a lower scale.

> While teaching in _____ College I (and other women) were paid $600 less per year than men. (25)
>
> My salary is not determined by my professional performance but by my rank, i.e., with a PhD they tried to hire me as an instructor at $6500 altho there are associate profs in my dept, male, with just MA's.
>
> Co-Directors: man $9000/year, woman $7500/year!! (49)
>
> In the case of salary discrimination (high school), the administrator acknowledged the injustice, but told me to "take it or leave it." (54)
>
> I feel I have been discriminated against in salary. I have no proof. (26)

It is rare that the woman ever knows for certain of this kind of discrimination, since information on salaries is usually regarded as privileged. When salaries are secret, suspicions abound. Young men are sure women are being preferred over them in the job market either because they are willing to work at lower salaries (as "scabs") or because the women's movement is now advancing their cause. Older professionals (which is to say, primarily male) are just as sure that there is no salary discrimination practiced at their institutions, that women are not paid less than men of the same rank.

As we shall see, however, where salary comparisons have been published, often as a result of HEW pressures, great disparities between men and women have been found, (1) because women have been forced to take positions at smaller and less prestigious colleges, which pay less to both men and women; (2) because women have been forced into job classifications--such as part-time, lecturer, research associate, teaching assistant, or visiting status--that keep them from enjoying assured salaries at equivalent rates; and (3) above and beyond the two previous reasons, because even in the same universities and the same departments of universities, men have been paid more for equivalent work.

Once hired, women are more vulnerable to the viscissitudes of departmental life. If the chairman changes, so may the woman's position in the department, for she is often the marginal member, her position more unstable than that of her male colleagues. The resistance to awarding tenure to women is particularly great and seems particularly unjustified. Reports such as that by Anna Babey-Brooke (portions of which will be found in Chap. Two) reveal university departments willing, without pangs of conscience, to let women dangle in expectation year after year only to release them prior to tenure and hire others, again at lower ranks.

It is not difficult to imagine the effect of such treatment upon the individual woman. Instability, uncertainty, lack of security--these feelings sometimes induce, some respondents said, a vague paranoia--or even more nebulous, in one case, a "fear of paranoia." One woman reported feeling she had always received equal treatment until she was hired by a woman's college; then she learned for certain of discrimination in salary, "rank, maybe, duties often--vague suspicion always." Rare is the administrator who announces his prejudice outright, as did the chairman at a Catholic college "who announced publicly that for 'reasons of conscience' CJ he was against women on _____ campus"; relieved of suspicions, the respondent felt she at least knew where

she stood and "asked to be released from my contract."

The next great barrier to the woman who has managed to surmount all others to this point is the refusal to grant promotion, especially the crucial promotion from assistant to associate professor that often accompanies tenure, or is implicit after the granting of tenure. The result is that, with one important exception, the women in the departments tend to be clustered in the bottom ranks. If women rise, it is not in proportion to their numbers in the department and not at the rate their qualifications would indicate. The exception, particularly visible in some smaller departments or smaller colleges, is the case where "token" women, often older and identified with a previous generation that came in during the war years, integrate the upper ranks while the lower ranks are still depleted. The same general disparities are to be found in American Studies as in other groves of Academe*: women are generally in the bottom ranks; they do not often teach in the prestigious universities; with degrees from prestigious universities, they teach in less prestigious ones; with degrees from non-prestigious universities, they teach in small and little-known colleges; in some of the smaller schools they stand a better chance of gaining rank.

They also wait longer from PhD to first promotion, and from first promotion to second. One distinguished woman in American Studies, after citing "comparatively little" experience with discrimination, conceded in response to another question: "One promotion may have been a little slow" in coming. (78) Indeed it was: she was eleven years an assistant professor and nine years an associate before promotion to full professor!

Some respondents were outraged by the refusal to promote, as well as the refusal to hire:

> Discrimination in hiring and promotion far more [serious] than other issues cited here. The most serious obstacle to women in today's academic job market is the extreme (but hidden) discrimination in hiring and promotion. If my male colleagues could be made to feel "guilty" about this, many of the problems for academic women could be solved . . . (19)

Others were aware of the great change coming in promotional policies as a result of the HEW guidelines. "HEW offers promise" (11) "Our hope is HEW!" (76)

> We have a case, in my own department, . . . of a woman--probably the first--being adjudged by HEW as having been denied her promotion to full professor on the basis of sex discrimination. (1)

The HEW guidelines require "affirmative action" in hiring into those areas where women "have been previously excluded," which means into the ranks of associate and full professor. Universities must also show that they are making up for past inequities to women already on their staffs, not only changing policies affecting the future. There are cases now of women who have skipped a rank, from assistant to full professor, not only within universities but in being hired in at new jobs; there are also cases of women awarded back pay to make up for past discrimination. The HEW principle of retroactive salary adjustment, at first regarded as anathema to many, is winning the support of AAUP and union chapters on individual campuses. (See Rutgers report in next chapter).

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*For what interest the information may have to readers, the ranks reported by 65 of the first 84 women to respond (the rest not naming rank) were as follows: full professor 4; associate professor 9; assistant professor 13; instructor, lecturer or visiting status 14; graduate students 27 (of whom many were teaching assistants or part-time teachers); part time PhD's 3; unemployed PhD's 5.

Once the woman is on the full-time staff and she and her husband dare to have children, they soon discover that university policies on leaves of absence and part-time employment are as crucial at the child-bearing stage as was anti-nepotism at the hiring stage. The policies on pregnancy leave (to have the child) or parental leave (to care for the child, either parent) are discouraging to serious careers. They take their toll of a woman's incentive, whether she is "old-fashioned" or not:

> In February, I became a mother and since the company for which I work refused my request for maternity leave, my employment was terminated. . . . So I am home with the baby. I am old-fashioned enough to believe this is probably where I belong. However, I wish there was some way to earn some money either by editing, proofreading, research etc. not only to keep the bill collectors from knocking on the door but also to keep . . . my mind from becoming rusty . . . . I feel trapped. (9)

At some universities, women lose their jobs if they become pregnant; at others, they are granted leaves but lose fringe benefits, salary increments, and time toward tenure and promotion. Similarly, women able to manage part-time teaching while children are small--often a remarkable achievement, but one that women with incentive have managed brilliantly--are punished with lower pay, loss of fringe benefits, and loss of time toward promotions and tenure.

With ingenuity and a certain luck in planning, some women have managed to circumvent the legally oppressive regulations by having the baby on sabbatical. But one woman reports:

> Having a baby on one's sabbatical . . . was not "legal" at _____ College, since, technically, under the by-laws (still standing), the College should not have paid me any salary if I were on maternity leave. I recall coming in to the College . . . and being whisked off campus, lest someone notice I was pregnant. (1)

Married women with children are doubly immobile. Departments often exploit their situation by holding them at a low rank, complicating a woman's life further since lower rank means lower pay and less means to pay for the child care which might free her to do more research, publication, or teaching. It is a familiar pattern: the vicious cycle.

Lower salaries, lower ranks, slow promotions which insure continued lower salaries, difficulty in obtaining leaves--all these add to the professional jeopardy motherhood implies. The woman needs the earning power to pay for child care, but she does not have it. The woman needs professional validation through promotion and leaves of absence to maintain her incentive but she does not get it. Her husband's situation and hers now seem almost unalterably different, though as graduate students their positions were essentially the same. Her interrupted career could have been fostered by policies that freely allowed pregnancy leaves, that allowed part-time employment without penalties, and that positively encouraged her to return to work by making day care centers available.

At this point, she must begin to take conscious account of the feelings engendered by her personal history, a history she shares, whether she has realized it or not, with women in her profession throughout the country. One of the things she will discover is that in those "sensitive" areas above and beyond overt discrimination, the subtle things that she feels too unimportant to mention or the personal things she feels she should not mention, she is by no means alone.

COVERT CASES

In addition to the 58 cases of overt discrimination detailed in response to the questionnaire, many women responded to the invitation to cite instances of "covert" or implied discrimination. Here are some examples:

> My chairman habitually addresses departmental meetings with "gentlemen," though three women are present. (54)
>
> Very few ladies rooms [at University of Pennsylvania] (13)
>
> Occasionally there is a threat of sexual blackmail by higher ranking men--do what I want or else . . . . Chairman disapproves of clothes except for fashions for 50 and over. (42)
>
> I'm a little tired of sexual comments. (57)
>
> How does one word a question [as a suggestion for questions that should have been asked on the questionnaire] to the effect that: "Have you ever felt yourself put in an awkward position by male professors because you are a female whom they find it difficult to separate intellectually & sexually? or rather, whom they view as a bright, sexual object? (11)
>
> How do you document a snide remark, hints that you might get married, that you might get pregnant, that your husband might take a job elsewhere or the social snubs of all-male faculty clubs or parties? Recently one graduate school placement officer in the history dept told three women all looking for jobs . . . "The job situation is too tight, but if you want a job, with your good looks and personal presence, you should go around to the chairmen of the departments in the area and present your credentials. I am sure you will have a good chance of a nice job." While this statement was very complimentary, I question whether good looks has anything to do with scholarship, and if that is the criterion of selection . . . , I think the level of academic excellence of our male counterparts should be seriously questioned. (quoted in CCWHP Newsletter)
>
> In job application at _____ U. (the interviewer is currently president of a regional ASA chapter) I was asked [when pregnant] if I thought I could stand up in front of a classroom and didn't I think this would be too difficult? (75)
>
> This could be a whole book . . . Frequently such comments were made in an attempt at kindness and gallantry by male colleagues and administrators who found it difficult to accept a woman as a colleague and an equal. (12)
>
> It can be something of an amusing sideshow to watch men try to avoid calling a woman "Doctor" or "Professor." I do a good deal of public speaking, television work, etc. and I've finally stopped trying to put them at ease whenever this happens to me. Once I was one of six PhD's on a program advertised all over the city--all five of the others, male (one black), were listed on the poster as "Dr." but my title had been changed to "Mrs." Interviewers habitually assume the right to use my first name or call me "Mrs." without asking what I prefer, but the funniest case was a woman interviewer who said on the air that she was going to call me by my first name because "You're too pretty to be a Doctor." Of course, when I replied that I preferred the customary form of address, I sounded like a

stick-in-the-mud for the rest of the interview.

Same thing with male colleagues: they'd know better than to call a black colleague "BOY" affectionately but when they throw the word "DEAR" (affectionately) at a female colleague, they would be terribly hurt if she called them on it. All you can do is pointedly "dear" them back and hope they get the message. (68)

God, sometimes I think I'll be "honeyed, deared, and sweetied" to death. (80)

In his letter accompanying his questionnaire, David Reisman noted, with his customary sensitivity to the problems people face that they dare not voice, that one reason it is important for women students to have women faculty to turn to is "that they aren't afraid with female faculty of being immediately propositioned! That is in addition to what is usually said about the need for role models." (DR, 714)

DOUBLE JEOPARDY

Special notice must be taken of those cases where discrimination has had unique effects--at times, uniquely harsh. Among questionnaire respondents the most obvious of these were the cases of nuns and black women.

One Catholic respondent described her education in the convent as "eleven years worth of 'the Twelve Apostles were all men and read St. Paul!" (76) A former nun pointed out that she could hardly start getting used to being a role model as a woman professor when she was just getting over being a role model as a nun. A nun who pointed out that "Nuns at our college do much more than others and are expected to, with far less pay" (39), added:

> . . . It is interesting to note that Catholic women's colleges have for generations been administered by women . . . At Rosary, which I am familiar with, there have been faculty members who have long been promoting women's rights. As fourth class citizens in the Catholic Church, they have been particularly aware of the problem.

It is a curious fact that intimate experience with sexist discrimination should validate a superior awareness of the problem at the same time that such experience serves to dull the consciousness of it in others. In her book on Catholic women, THE CHURCH AND THE SECOND SEX (1968), Mary Daly makes this point, quoting from Richard Wright's BLACK BOY to draw a parallel: "I began to marvel at how smoothly the black boys [cf. women] acted out the roles that the white race [cf. the Church] had mapped out for them. Most of them were not conscious of living a special, separate, stunted way of life. Yet I know that in some period of their growing up--a period that they had no doubt forgotten--there had been developed in them a delicate, sensitive controlling mechanism that shut off their minds and emotions from all that . . . was taboo." (in Daly, p. 126)

Because the black woman is caught today in a moment in history when the claims upon her attention pull in two directions, her personal experiences and the language she adopts to report them are especially valuable. Two of the black women who answered questionnaires offered sharply contrasting responses. The first gave forthright, if rather belligerent, replies:

> . . . any discrimination I experienced was because of race first, sex second. (3)
>
> I'm more concerned about increasing minority (ethnic) faculty members of both sexes, but especially male.

> Because I am an aggressive, articulate Black woman, I have been more readily accepted in newly opening professional situations than my Black brothers who are more threatening to the white men who wield the power and make the decisions.

The respondent felt the problem of sexist discrimination in American Studies was "minimal," had not been aware of inequities, said "more racial than sexual" when asked if aware of discrimination, and characterized women's lib as "White/middle class," adding, "I am a black woman and, therefore, much more concerned with black liberation than with women's liberation. If the former is achieved, hopefully, the latter will assume a higher priority in my life." (3)

By contrast, the other black woman found the problem of discrimination against women to be "serious," said yes she had been aware of inequities, and characterized women's lib by saying: "Lacks direction but I prefer to see the interest now engendered as compared to silence." (37) Most questions were answered without reference to her race, although she suggested that there should have been a question "to reflect awareness of black women and their status in academic life" and that existing coursss should not overlook the role of the black woman in American society. Two responses had a poignant ring:

> I have experienced feelings of humiliation, rage--and of amusement. As a black woman I have at times experienced a sense of helplessness. I seem to be getting a double dosage of discrimination. (37)
>
> I have been constantly aware of the emphasis I place on males in the teaching of American literature. At present it is difficult to attempt to show both the roles of blacks and of women in American life--especially to black students. (37)

In BORN FEMALE, Caroline Bird shows black women are indeed doubly victimized, economically speaking, since they are at the bottom of the income ladder--with white men at the top, then black men, and white women next to the bottom. But these figures are for the entire economy (including day workers and office cleaners) rather than the professions. Whether it is now true, as the first respondent claims, that black women are accepted sooner than black men into the teaching profession is not clear, but several questionnaire responses suggest that they may now be accepted sooner than white women. Five men called attention to the fact that their next appointment was to go to a black woman (two adding that it was their department's first woman), while one white woman who just missed out on a job was consoled with the news that she came in a close second and told: "If you had been black we would have decided in your favor." (56)

Under the pressures of two liberation movements, ironies and conflicting emotions for black women are inevitable. Geneva Smitherman has noted that a "recurrent theme among black intellectuals--who, above all, should know better --is that Black women should step back so that Black men can step forward. . . . In short, the Feminine Mystique is being rerun in blackface." (See Part III.) During the late sixties, it was clear for a time that a Black Mystique was still being created at the very time the Feminine Mystique was under attack. This meant--and still means--that there were limits to the conclusions that could be drawn from paralleling these two kinds of oppression. Since then, however, some blacks have challenged the black machismo cult at the same time that some women have re-invented a mystique of separatism--even of superiority --for their sex. "Black is Beautiful" has been followed by "Sisterhood is Powerful"! The comments by and about black women in this volume are responses to these shifting cross-currents in the American climate of opinion.

AT THE BITTER EDGE: WOMAN'S RAGE

In some respects, the ASA questionnaire confirmed findings of other studies and in some respects it was unique. The highly competent, objective questionnaires by other professional associations, designed to be compiled by computers and read by social scientists, have seldom allowed for questions on the subjective, deeply personal effects of discrimination upon women. In the light of contemporary awareness of the vital role played in human development of the self-concept, one of the commissioners urged asking questions of women respondents which attempted to uncover some of these personal reactions and the methods women adopted to deal with internal stress. On the practical side, the number of women in an organization as small as ASA seemed likely to be small enough yet representative enough to allow for collating and reporting such subjective responses.

How did the women represented in the ASA membership respond to discriminatory treatment? Were they aware of it? Were some, like Richard Wright's subjects, unconscious of it? What happened to women who did become conscious of it after having doubted its presence in their lives? Women driven to the bitter edge of despair in the effort to surmount the hurdles this chapter has listed--what happened to them?

It was the third question on the woman's page, above all, that became the Pandora's box of the questionnaire. "WHAT EFFECT DID YOU FIND IT HAD ON YOU TO DISCOVER, OR SUSPECT, THAT YOU WERE BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST? (E.G., SELF-DOUBT? HUMILIATION? RAGE? CONFUSION? POWERLESSNESS? HELPLESSNESS? EMBARRASSMENT? OTHER?)" Buried in the middle of this list of suggested alternatives was the word rage, and the women found it and singled it out above all others. The total vote of 84 respondents to these choices:

self-doubt 13	confusion 9
humiliation 9	powerlessness 12
rage 38 (!)	helplessness 12

Some women voted for more than one of the choices, and five answered "all of these" or "all, but at different times." Other responses women reported were:

wish to excel 4	feeling of injustice 1
annoyance 3	fear of paranoia 1
amusement 3	bitterness 2
lowered ego 2	disillusion 1

And one woman said: "wish to be (1) a man or (2) a dumb broad who would enjoy doing nothing." (33)

The reaction to the word rage was most striking. Several women underlined it heavily three or four times; many linked rage to a sequence of responses, saying they felt:

> First rage, then helplessness. (51)
>
> Self-doubt which developed into rage and an ultimate feeling of helplessness. (59)
>
> Strong rage--early impact most subtle, most inhibiting via lowered ego, etc. (16)

Self-doubt, rage, helplessness. It took two years of teaching in another institution to restore my confidence and real liking for teaching. (40, who had been forced to resign)

Rage and humiliation (66)

Shock. Disillusion. Bitterness. Rage. Disgust with injustice. (74)

Rage, powerlessness (11, 41, 42)

Self-doubt, then anger (15)

Mostly disgust--by now I expect it. I was angry at first. (32)

Rage and the determination to change things (76)

Regalness, rage, and competitiveness which was almost unbearable. (57)

Rage and the desire to beat them at their own game! (75)

When I feel I am not being taken seriously in my work I tend to feel rage at first and then set out to prove that I am as capable as any other student. (31)

Made me work harder to excel. Some anger at first . . . (43)

In the last four responses, along with that of the woman who said she felt "confusion and the wish to succeed and show them!!!" (13), may be found the positive effects that rage can generate: the incentive to work harder, the spur to excel. Three of these respondents rightly noted that none of the suggested alternatives between the parentheses on this question were positive choices. It is true that ostracism and debasement can be powerful factors to motivate achievement: the entire history of the American success myth stands witness to that! If this is what it takes to make Sammy run, however (and Sutpen and Gatsby and Ellison's Invisible Man and the others), one might question not only the inhumanity of a system that demands so high a psychological price of those affected but also whether, in very practical terms, such a method of motivation can guarantee "excellence" in its results. In any event, it is clear from the other responses to this question, as well as general psychological studies on incentive, that such motivation can also have negative results and that positive results can be better obtained by positive means. One commissioner, on first reading these statements, cried out: "My God, what are they doing to these women?!!" It seemed a most natural thing to say.

Just as "black rage" has been of import to social psychologists seeking to understand the black revolution, so female rage has assumed a new importance today, with disagreements between those who see it as a force destructive to personality and dangerous to the society as against those who see in it a healthy and human reaction after years of suppression. Until recently, the small percentage of women who did survive in the academic world, like women in professions generally, had had to learn to sublimate their rage, refusing to acknowledge it or letting it sour into bitterness and eat up their vital energies. When that suppressed rage is allowed release, not all of them know what to do with it, how to handle their emotions. "For many women, a long suppressed rage is now beginning to surface," noted Richard Farson in "The Rage of Women" as long ago as 1969, "and their movement for equal rights is becoming organized and gaining momentum." (LOOK, December 19, 1969). Like the four women who saw positive results when rage produced a spur to excel, Farson and others see rage energizing the movement. If, however, the rage remains internalized and finds no outlet in action or creativity, the same depressing effects that psychologists have observed in the rage of blacks or of other oppressed groups may also become the fate of these women.

ON THE POSITIVE SIDE

The affirmative aspect of the responses "From Women Only"--a welcome relief from depressing accounts of discriminatory treatment--can be seen in the heightened self-awareness that has come a a by-product of the women's movement. On the questionnaires, that strong affirmative note was sounded in response to the single question asking women if they were aware of being regarded as "role models" to their students, especially women students. Of the women who answered this question, a full 80% (44 women) said yes, and over half of these cited concrete instances of positive feedback from students, faculty and friends. (18% of those who answered said no, 2% maybe or not yet. 17 respondents did not answer, and 12 responses were not applicable.)

At least five positive results are reported as emerging from the influence of academic women as role models: First, through the content of courses taught, students have been influenced in their choices of careers and majors.

> As a result of readings in women's history, my students have confirmed careers in medicine, law, anthropology, etc. (6)
>
> Occasionally, girls in my school tend to be very traditional in career plans, etc. I offer some alternative to those interested few. (35)
>
> Women students find my enjoyment of teaching literature interesting; some have switched majors. (18)

Second, activists have encouraged women students to get into politics, including feminist organizations.

> Recently a group of women students . . . formed a Women's Students Rights Committee and made 21 demands of the administration; one was for greater representation of women on faculty, administration, counselling and placement services. (12)
>
> I was delighted when 2 of the 3 articulate women in a protest over various policies at P.S.U. Hist. Dept. were my students, with whom I continue to maintain contact. (77)

Third, married women and older women have been encouraged to return to college to continue their education, while younger women have been given courage to consider combining marriage and career.

> Several women have gone back to school, as I did, after their children were in school, because it worked well for me. (18)
>
> I find more women students interested in me as a person, how I hacked it in the professional world, and how I feel about a career and marriage and family. (26)
>
> Inasmuch as I have two children, I feel that I am a role model to my childless fellow students. It seems to me that this is extremely important. I relaxed immensely when I discovered that a brilliant faculty member is also the mother of two. (71)

Fourth, greater rapport has been established between women faculty and the students who seek advice on career goals, graduate education, everything.

> I have been asked for advice by women undergraduates contemplating graduate work and worrying that they will not be taken seriously by men. (31)

> Younger female grad students have turned to me for advice, sympathy, etc. (66)
>
> Yes--young women from outside American Studies as well as our own come to me for counsel. (78)
>
> Yes--[I have been] encouraging able women to fight for grad school entry and aid. (47)
>
> Yes, students and faculty have said so to me. Many female students come in to talk about school, the profession and most anything they need to talk about. (43)
>
> It scares me to death! After years of being an aberration, an idiosyncracy, an exception, suddenly, LOOK MA! I'm a role model--! I don't know how to act knowing I am being so carefully watched! (68)

Finally, women students have been led to question their stereotypes about what a woman faculty member ought to be, and to have new types set before them they want to emulate.

> My being in a status position has encouraged other women, young and old, to go on in education. (10)
>
> Yes, and getting comments like "you're not a typical intellectual woman"--and won't you tell me please where she is so I can see the difference? (57)
>
> Decidedly!! Received a note from two female students last winter. The note said "You are the kind of woman we are striving to become." (59)
>
> Yes--many freshman girls get crushes and "want to be like you." Several have gone to college because I did. (24)
>
> Indeed. One student called me a "culture heroine." (7)
>
> I work hard at this [being a role model]. I find that I am a threat to some of my female students. I think this is because I am not the stereotype of woman or professional woman they'd like or expect to see. (24)

While the mood of these correspondents ranged from shy to bold in reporting these impressions, there can be no doubt that there is a new awareness of such women in the academic world, nor that they are pleased and proud to be cast in their new roles.*

---

*A few women demurred on this question, or qualified their answers: "Sorry but I am usually closer to male students; they seek my friendship and counsel." (25); "Yes, but it is difficult to get my students to genuinely assess male-female roles for this reason, because they assume I am 'women's lib' and say what they think I want them to." (46); "As an unemployed Yale PhD, I'm afraid I discourage women about the use (to women professionally) of hard work in education" (74). To ask a woman if she is a role model when she is not given a chance to try must have seemed, to this last respondent, the unkindest cut of all.

SPEAKING PERSONALLY: CASE HISTORIES

> It seems to me, as a man, that while too many men are hostile . . . , large numbers of other men are not aware of the extent to which discrimination exists, and many of these would (I hope) respond to the revelation of the tacit prejudice against women by supporting reforms. Ergo, I hope that a good deal of information will be collected and made public.
>
> --Male Respondent to CCHWP Questionnaire, whose response seems directly pertinent to ours.

In addition to answering the questions on the woman's page of the questionnaire, some women took very seriously the invitation to provide information about their personal situations and about their universities. It remains for us, in this section, to include excerpts from some of their case histories and citations, abridged and edited so as to protect anonymity. Only a representative selection of the histories sent us (representing different universities, different situations, and different degrees of awareness) are included in this gallery of partial portraits. We are encouraged to include such primary evidence in this volume as much by the men in ASA, for whom the historian quoted above may be taken to speak, as by the women who feel these stories ought to be told.

I.

My experiences since I decided to do graduate work and teach in American Studies have made me aware of what black people go through in similar situations: how does one know for sure what the basis is for refusal and rejection? How does one learn to walk the razor's edge--not too servile, not too assertive--when dealing with The Man? How does one sort out feelings of paranoia from "reality"? How do you maintain an attitude of self-worth after you've been put down? Equally tricky, how do you obtain valid proof that you have landed a job after an incident such as the one I faced not out of someone's pity or largesse but because of your qualifications and capabilities? It is easy enough to say that discrimination is really "the problem of the guy who practices it--I'm still intact." You may not be--for on a feeling level, way beyond the intellectual side, you may be left with hurt, anger, frustration, rage.....to say nothing of no job and no paycheck.

The faces of discrimination are strange, puzzling, sometimes downright ludicrous. In 1966 I applied for readmission to graduate school at _____, sixteen years after marriage, children, and part-time teaching had filled the interval since my MA in history. I discussed the possibility with the acting head of the History Department, who if nothing else was frank. He told me they had several hundred applications each year and only a very few slots and that I should be aware "we're interested in bright young males . . ." I took my not-so-brilliant middle-aged femininity out of his office and applied to American Studies, directed by _____, whose lovely southern gentlemanly manner contrasted to the historian's curtness, without blinding him from appreciating a struggling intellect, whether it belonged to a man or a woman.

I was accepted into the program and granted a PhD three years later. (That University's number of women faculty is a sad affair; there are none among those who teach in American Studies although the program has graduated more than the usual share of distinguished women and is regarded as a major school for American Studies in the country.)

During graduate school I did have financial support from the American Culture Program--$1900 fellowship one year. But other financial aid was very hard to come by to complete the dissertation while supporting myself and three children. The graduate school's policy is to award fellowships to candidates who complete work within a ten year period; mine was spread out over a longer period so I found myself going to school summer, fall, winter and spring for three years while most of my male colleagues took heavier loads, finished sooner, and qualified for the Ford Foundation money. . . .

During the summer of ____, the job market was good and I found myself with several offers. Although other jobs offered me higher salaries, I turned them all down and accepted an offer from _____ University because of its dynamic American Studies program and a director whose thinking seemed to be on the same wave length as my own. The offer was for a five-year probationary contract, made to me by the head of the English Department, under whose aegis the AS program there exists. It was between the time I accepted the offer, about June 1, and the time the contract itself arrived, about August 1, that The Period of Horror erupted. The offer turned out to be for a one-year terminal contract. The university's president had overrulled the chairman's decision, which was technically legal but had never been done in the 17 years of his office. Why? Who could tell? In the interim period, while I was winding up the dissertation, taking orals, and preparing to move my family, someone in high power had decided I was undesireable--and I was not entitled to know the reasons.

The speculation over reasons was agonizing: was it because I was a woman? a divorcee? a peace and civil rights advocate (as was the AS director)? was it my religion? my middle age? my dissertation topic, which someone in ignorance might think controversial? There was little help in speculation, however, and I had no choice--if I wanted a job that year, I would have to go to _____ University, either under a cloud of suspicion or as a cause celebre, depending on how you looked at it.

Encouraged by both the English Department chairman and the AS director, I began an appeal process immediately. My former professors, former students, and nationally-known professional people like _____, _____, and _____ wrote supporting letters on my behalf. I was impressed and flattered. But it did no good as far as the university administrators were concerned; the university president continued to say to me that his hands were tied, but the administration remained adamant.

In retrospect, it would seem that two factors may have been dominant in the university's thinking (I was never informed with candor what the reasons were, so these are speculations.) One was the assumption that I would likely join with a large group on campus that was proposing non-violent changes at the university; those who were part of the group were systematically pressured (no raises, very small raises, denial of tenure and promotion). Secondly, the AS director was on his way out, despite his own tenure, because of his own discomfort with the same situation. It seems likely that the administration had no intention of allowing me, a woman, to be next in line as director. Instead, a young male PhD candidate was recruited ostensibly to "replace" me and when the director resigned was elevated to the vacancy--before he had even begun to teach!

At this point, under the pressure of my appeal, the university president did come through with an offer of another one-year terminal contract. While

it served to confirm my status, it was hardly an impressive professional promotion, and when _____ University that summer offered me a permanent position in American Studies and English, I had no hesitation about accepting.

* * * * * * * * *

II.

Dear Dr. Chmaj--

It was very heartening to receive your questionnaire and to know that someone is interested in the position of women in American Studies . . . .

Perhaps my experience will help to illustrate and draw attention to what I feel is the primary problem of the married female PhD. Now that I have finished my degree work, have started my family, and am now ready to embark upon a career in teaching and research, I find that there are no jobs available in my field or any related field in the geographical area to which I am restricted. The job placement service of the ASA is a joke and the customary method of securing jobs for new graduates, whereby the chairman of one's department learns over cocktails that a job is open in Timbuktu, does not seem to me a very fair or efficient way of matching up job seekers with employers. Not many department chairmen are familiar with the employment situation in those "lesser" colleges or universities outside their own geographical area . . . , the sort of places to which women are restricted because of discrimination or relative lack of mobility.

Now I am in a position where, because I cannot find a teaching job, I cannot afford to hire anyone to supervise my children while I write. Yet research and publication are not only an inherent part of the academic profession, they are necessary to compete in the job market. The key to my problem is finding a teaching job and that seems to be the one thing I cannot do, inspite of the fact that my educational record and recommendations are excellent. (For a sexist note, while discussing my job prospects with a member of our department I was told that I was "one of the strongest <u>women</u>" to come from our department.)

My constructive suggestions (to offset the rather baleful tone of this letter) would be to: (1) make the ASA job placement service a living, working enterprise which AS chairmen around the country (and the world for that matter) would agree to inform of any and all openings, at least in non-tenured positions; and (2) consider the possibility of setting up, on a formal or informal basis, a counseling and possibly placement service for women. I think these two ideas should be discussed at the October meetings.

. . . I should have prefaced this . . . with the words which a department member uttered as I embarked upon my round of interviews: "At least it's a good year for women."

Good luck to you and the Commission on Women . . . . .

Sincerely, _____

* * * * * * * * *

III.

When I started my BA work I knew that I wanted a career in "college teaching," i.e., that I didn't want to teach in the public schools, the traditional career for women. As a result I was always aware of the professional nature of college, graduate schools, degrees, etc. What I am trying to say is that I began my work taking myself seriously--but I was the only one. One gradually realized that teachers, both men and women, weren't interested in

working with women students; somehow they saw us as annoyances which kept them from their real work, preparing men for careers. After disinterest, if you forced the issue, they wanted to test you, to demand proof of your competence. And after you worked for your A, all it meant was "Damned good--for a girl." I should say that if you stuck it out through undergraduate school, you couldn't expect any help with graduate schools, etc. I hope I'm not sounding like Little Orphan Annie. I'm just saying that they wanted to see the men in graduate schools, they worried about it, they worked to achieve it. Women are very low priority.

Now graduate school was something else again. They didn't try to be pleasant or conceal their misgivings. I should say that prejudice was overt at the graduate level. They had never taken women seriously. At _____ in the American Studies Department the MA program was for women, the PhD for men. The master's was considered a terminal degree, whose function was to allow public school teachers to make X amount of money more per year. The classes were too large, mismanaged and unorganized. And although the faculty recognized the real deficiencies of the MA program, they couldn't call up the resources to work on it and improve it; they just weren't interested. . . . The department chairman's solution was just to drop the MA program altogether, i.e., to destroy a service, although an inferior one, that primarily serviced women.

I can count on the fingers of one hand the women teachers I've had during my undergraduate and graduate years. And one soon learns that it's low on the totem to take classes from women--i.e., they somehow lack the authority and presence of a male teacher. Also until graduate school women were a minority in most classes.

I suppose that every woman student has anecdotes about being a woman in one more man's profession. I was on _____ Street at _____ University when a girl I had met recently in class met me in a rage about a conversation she had just had with Professor _____. She was married and had a daughter a year and a half old. She was just beginning graduate school, having delayed her work to have her baby, etc. In asking Professor _____ for information about the American Studies Program at _____, he had advised her to quit, go home to her child, and be "a good Jewish mother," (. . . she wasn't even Jewish.) His general position was that women didn't belong in graduate schools they were a waste of time and money.

Another time I remember returning for a second conversation with Professor _____ about some readings. He had a reputation for being rather absent-minded and although he couldn't place my name or remember our previous talk, he never "forgets a pretty face." God, sometimes I think I'll be "honeyed, deared and sweetied" to death.

* * * * * * * *

IV.

Dear Dr. Chmaj--

All my life people have refused to take me "seriously" because I am a woman. Not only am I female but I resemble in many ways the cultural stereotype of what a woman should like to look like. I wanted to be a human being and not a "woman." I tell you, it has been a long hard fight.

Recently I ran for mayor. At first most people considered my candidacy a joke, i.e., refused to take it seriously because I am a woman, young, married have a child and a husband with a "good" job. I finally came in 4th out of 8 candidates; also, I have not gotten, or at least not been offered, an increase

in salary for next year, because of my sex, age, and because I'm a captive here in _____ City where my husband is a geologist with _____.

Each job I have had where men applied for the same job, I have been offered less. In one case I threatened to get a lawyer and my salary demand was met. One time, I was not about to be hired because I was a woman. Luckily it was in my home town and I raised a ruckus. When this had been told to me by interviewers outside my home town [however], I never had any recourse (or at least so I thought in the 1960's) but to swallow my pride and hurt and look elsewhere.

In ways I am a most traditional person, in that life without an emotionally fulfilling marriage and without children would make me feel an incomplete self. However, I am intelligent, creative, professionally competent, and a personally attractive human being. I feel I have the right to be a total person and should not have to choose between middle-class matron and professional lady stereotypes for a self.

My hope is that someday women won't have to fight so hard to be considered human beings.

* * * * * * * * *

V.

I am a woman. I received my PhD in American Studies from _____ this June. My doctoral dissertation [was on a subject concerning American women]. I am presently living in _____, where my husband, who is working on his dissertation, has taught for three years. (His degree will also be in American Studies.)

Anyone looking for jobs in teaching has had a rough time this year. Women, from my experience, have had special trouble. In my case, I felt that both my dissertation and my husband caused particular problems. I had no job interviews where I was not asked if I were married, what my husband did, and what he would do if I were to get a job. This, as far as I am concerned, is a personal question which has nothing to do with my qualifications for teaching anywhere. It so happens that he would like to stop working and write, but this should be irrelevant to a hiring committee. If women weren't prepared to take teaching positions, they wouldn't be applying for them. Obviously, men are not asked similar questions about their wives because of the assumption that men's jobs are more important.

My dissertation was obviously a drawback to my chances of being hired. All of the people I interviewed (with one exception) were men. Only two out of forty expressed any interest in my dissertation. One asked me gloweringly whether I was writing a "feminist tract." Most looked bored, blank, or slightly ill at the recognition that I was dealing with women in American history and literature. Some objected that popular fiction written by women in a past era was hardly worthy of academic dignity.

I have wanted very much for the past year to teach courses on women, whether in American Studies or in a Women's Studies department or program. Unfortunately, while there is growing interest in women's studies, there is little financial support . . . American Studies could be well-suited for introducing important courses on women within an already established framework. The problem is, of course, that the framework is already so established with a male bias. My field of specialty within AS was American literature. Emily Dickenson was the only woman writer ever introduced in a course. The general attitude toward women writers was derogatory. When I wrote papers critical of the portrayal of women by male American authors, the reception from professors was less than warm. I was made to feel that such questions were irrelevant. No women were introduced in courses on American intellectual and

cultural history. A visiting lecturer this past spring TALKED FOR TWO HOURS ON THE PURITAN FAMILY WITHOUT EVER ONCE MENTIONING WOMEN--HIS TALK WAS LIMITED TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN PURITAN FATHERS AND SONS.

I have learned through my own research that there were major developments in the attitudes and aspirations, as well as the position of women in the nineteenth century; that much important cultural criticism was done by women in that period; and that a vast amount of our understanding of American culture and cultural history depends upon our understanding of the nature and roles of women and the family. I am eager to teach what I have learned. I am also eager to work with women students to help alleviate some of the alienation and inferiority they feel in an academic atmosphere where teaching is dominated by men and subject matter is male-oriented.

There is a small but very active women's studies program at _____ College. Students who have taken courses in the program are more than enthusiastic about it; they have a whole new outlook on themselves, their society and their future lives, not to mention their academic and professional goals and their personal relationships. There is a small American Studies program here--one faculty woman to five or six men.

It seems apparent that in order to introduce women's roles (and to recognize sexual roles in general) in American Studies on a basis more comprehensive than one freak course or two once in a while, there will have to be a balance of men and women on AS faculties. While half the graduate students in AS at Yale were women, there were no full-time women faculty members, and no plans for hiring any. The black-out on women in the subject matter of courses in American Studies must be ended. Few faculty men I have encountered have much knowledge about women in American culture, and few have any but a token interest in the subject. Until women are fully integrated into our study of America; until all professors have more than a one-sided perception of their subject matter, I think special courses on women in American Studies are imperative. We need to know more about women in social history, women in economics, the lives of people rather than just the outstanding accomplishments of certain individuals, to mention some basics. I think we could well use courses on the lives of women--autobiographies, writings of outstanding women and also records left by women who were not granted any special acknowledgment. Studying the writings of women might help women students to be more free in their own writing and in the expression of their own ideas.

These briefly noted thoughts have run on far longer than I had intended. Please keep me posted on the progress on the Commission, and let me know if I can help in any way. . . .

Sincerely, _____

* * * * * * * * *

VI.

. . . My Department (English) is pretty good and generally without discrimination based upon sex. In the general college, however, this is not true, and women have fared unequally in the several different departments . . . .one woman, an associate professor for more than ten years, with significant publication and massive service to the college, inquired informally of the dean of faculty as to her chances for promotion to full professor, and was told, frankly, 1) there's no point to promoting her for there was no chance that she would leave or accept a better job--as a woman she was more "fixed" than a man; 2) a woman in the humanities was no match in the promotion competition with a man in the sciences who brought with him federal monies from grants and research, and who constantly could challenge the offer the college might make with offers from other colleges and agencies. . . .

The case involving Prof. Anna Babey-Brooke . . . has caused here a college-wide review of policies with respect to salaries and hiring. In my off-the-cuff talk with the chairmen of other departments, this was viewed as a grade A nuisance, and more than likely to promote no changes, or negative feelings.

At _____ College pressures from several directions are converging to bring change in the constitution of the by-laws that have governed women of professional rank . . . The by-laws now provide that, in effect, a woman must report to the President as soon as she knows she is pregnant, and withdraw at the end of the same term for a period of one year. During that year she loses salary and sabbatical leave time that she has accrued and vacation, . . . Under this by-law, a woman who miscarries may also lose six months' employment and salary. Currently, because of a new president and considerable pressure, the President has, under the use of his discretionary powers, allowed one woman faculty member who is to deliver in November to return to her classes after the birth of the child, but apparently, in other cases, where the individual lady did not have his favor, the permission was denied. It is intolerable that such decisions are left to such prejudicial forms of decisions. They should be the legal right of the staff member involved. Students are permitted to attend class throughout the term of pregnancy. Only the faculty are prohibited from teaching and earning a living . . . .as long as /the by-laws/ stand on the books, women whose position in the college or in the department may not seem to them invulnerable for any number of reasons may be forced to leave.

Speaking for myself, I cannot say I felt myself the victim of discrimination on the basis of sex. At Yale, in an all-male graduate school, the few women were treated with an extra measure of tact and generosity. Men like David Potter who was Chairman of American Studies when I was there were if anything kinder and more considerate of women. The men did receive all the larger scholarships and fellowships--certainly in that direction there was discrimination. I recall they had to dig up some money for me from the Society of Colonial Dames!!! But otherwise, . . . I cannot recall feeling that I was passed over.

There is one last point that I would like to contribute, and that is one I should like to call THE CASE AGAINST WOMEN. It involves an aspect of the problem before us that is not touched in the questionnaire.

The single most difficult aspect of being a professional woman that I encountered at my college was in counteracting the reputations and the personal hostility of the two women in my own department. Both demonstrated precisely the kinds of difficult, irrational and unstable behavior that the stereotypes portray. They are real, and both are still teaching. Their patterns and activities (which cut a swath through my own work and efforts) could only be described as behavior that circled in on its own suspicion and petty discords. In addition, they made every man in the department and outside the department reluctant to deal with a woman. . . .

The situation leads me to speculate on how we can construct a test by which to evaluate how the personality of the woman professional has changed in the past fifty years, for I believe it certainly has. I wish, for example, the questionnaire had inquired how many of the women respondents were married, divorced, had children, were, in fact, leading lives both as mothers and professionals. I think it is an important area to look into, . . . how the pressures (emotional, economic, professional) have changed for the woman entering any of the major professions. . . . Whether the governess in Henry James' TURN OF THE SCREW is a sexually repressed neurotic or is accurately reporting reality is still a real question. I think we must begin with a statistical base--how many women entered each one of the several professions in each decade of the present century; how many married and had families; how many remained single; how many maintained a working span of five or less years . . . .We need to know so much more!

* * * * * * * *

VII.

_____ University is not even broad-sighted enough to allow contemporary material and contemporary problems to be the focus of an entire course, never mind women! In last semester's survey on AS readings a lone class was given to Betty Friedan, the Panthers, and the Counter-Culture all at once! . . .

Attached is a Profile on _____ U. Women Faculty and Administration with figures which show that discrimination in hiring is rampant. Since _____ is a state school, the undergraduate male/female ratio is fairly even, but the number of women in proportion to men at the graduate level drops significantly--. . .

My experience has been that discrimination in American Studies happens before grad school. As one of the honor students in my undergraduate English Department, and the only one interested in American Lit, I was encouraged strongly not to go into AS. . . . The Woodrow Wilson interviewer also told me AS was a "bad risk" and that I was too since I might have babies and have to quit school; I wouldn't be such a bad risk, though, if I went into a more "stable" line of work--like high school teaching??!

One of the most overt [examples of discrimination here] is a rule that says the residency of a married woman must follow that of her husband--a lot of women who were once _____ residents have had to quit school after they married because of hign tuition for out-of-staters and because the husband was the one who "should" finish first. . . .

There's still plenty of covert discrimination, sanctioned and encouraged by the University . . .women are named queens or compete in sports events [like] Little 500 Weekend, where the men ride in a real bicycle race while the women's race is done on tricycles. The whole fraternity/sorority atmosphere fosters the notion that women should be decorative objects, not scholars, and universities encourage all that for the sake of alumni gifts. . . .

This year in particular I had the problem of wanting to consider a poet's relationship to his wife as part of his motivation in writing (both content and style), but the professor rejected the paper saying it had nothing to do with the man's power as an artist. . . .

Further, I've never had the chance to take a women-centered course--that would be terrific! The only women who are ever allowed to enter today's university courses [here], even nominally, are people like Harriet Tubman and Elizabeth Cady Stanton who are m[illegible]s from grade school and who we don't learn any more about now whan we did then.

* * * * * * * *

VIII.

Dear Professor Chmaj:

I am happy to respond to the questionnaire on women in American Studies and beyond: I am getting a PhD in American Studies from _____, and I am a woman, and I am interested in developing a course on women in America. During the past academic year I was an instructor in history at _____, where the department chairman was very receptive to my suggestion that I offer a course on women in America. (The fact that his wife has just received her PhD . . . in history from _____ may have aroused his consciousness.)

But alas, my husband and I are moving to _____ where he is to be an associate professor and I will be teaching part-time. I wrote to several

colleges in the area to inquire . . ., and I specifically mentioned my interest in teaching some sort of course on women. I am not sure whether this limited my chances further in this bleakest of years, but the only prospect I received is a "perhaps" from _____ . . .if any funds come through from the Legislature. I have not heard one way or another, and I am hopeful but pessimistic nonetheless. (Do these two states cancel one another out?)

CONTINUED FROM SHEET APPENDED TO QUESTIONNAIRE:

Since I am perverse enough always to look for women committee members and board members of professional organizations to which I belong, I have noticed that, compared to history associations, more women appear as committee members, session coordinators, "paper-givers" at sessions in the ASA than the AHA, OAH, SAH. From this I would assume the women's movement has affected the AS association, relative to older, more traditionally male-dominated organizations. (Not true, though, for editorial boards of AS journals.) . . . The fact that two of the student representatives we could vote for [in recent ASA election] were women . . . shows more than I usually expect (of representation of women in the affairs of professional organizations). I frequently see Professor Chmaj's name. . . .

I realized that Am. History textbooks do not mention women (beyond a high 2%). Therefore, I assigned the introduction of Kraditor's UP FROM THE PEDESTAL as to why women are not within the historical consciousness of most students educated in the U. S. Particularly in discussions of social and cultural history, women were a deliberate subject of study [in my courses]--as heroines, "victims," and average citizens. Given the dearth of treatment and consciousness of women in "American History" to which most of my students had been "exposed," I was, at times, thought of as a "women's lib nut," but that did not discourage me. Students, unused to women as a serious subject of history, may have thought I was "over-doing" women as part of our past; perhaps I was too self-conscious though. . . .I was afraid at times that I overdid the Black-Female parallels, but black and white students mentioned that they could "identify" with women's struggles today from that perspective. . . .

One teaching position I was offered, in a Catholic girls college in _____, required an interview with the president during which she asked about my plans for having children. Another Catholic girls college offered me a part-time one-semester fill-in position which was perfect at the time [but] when a full-time permanent person was sought, the chairman said that a male from Yale had already been selected, since he would be sure to be in the area for some time, unlike women like me who go where their husbands go. There was no discussion as to whether my husband and I planned to stay or leave the area, or whether my husband made decisions without my concurrence, or whatever. The assumption was made by the chairman that I would be a "risk." And the chairman was a woman, I got along well with her, she mentioned several times how pleased she was with me and how much the students liked and learned from my classes.

. . . Most of my colleagues in the history department at _____ did not refer to me as being competent despite being a female but one always did, and another made disparaging comments in my presence about other women professionals. A woman was given a one-year-only contract to fill my vacancy. . . . Two male members of the department expressed their disappointment that a woman had been appointed, while at the same time telling me how great it had been to have me as a colleague. They were oblivious to their inconsistency and prejudices.

* * * * * * * * *

IX.

I am a 1965 graduate of _____ with a major in American Thought and Civilization. . . . Until February 1971 I was employed as a Publications Editor. Although my background in American Studies was not directly related to my work, it was helpful in making me aware of incorrect facts, inconsistencies, etc., which I found frequently in the material with which I worked.

In February I became a mother and . . . my employment was terminated. In April I filed a charge of sex discrimination with EEOC but nothing has been done--a large backlog and not enough employees was the excuse given me in June. . . . I wish there was at least some way to earn some money either by editing, proofreading, research, etc., not only to keep the bill collector from knocking at the door, but also keep me in contact with the outside world and to keep my mind from becoming rusty. Somehow in the American way of life, businesses fear the homeworker (too much trouble and not enough control) or want to exploit their predicament and limit their possibilities to telephone soliciting or some similar job. As a result I feel trapped.

* * * * * * * *

X.

My situation was that in January 1968 I was granted tenure at _____. In late April of that year, however, I learned that in the Dean's view I had not, however, been promoted to Associate Professor. I was assured promotion would come the next year, and, for various reasons, I let the issue rest.

In the fall of 1968, however, I was informed that I would not be promoted, but no specific reason for this unusual procedure was given. Since I had taught and published more than most of my male colleagues had upon becoming Associate Professors, was a generally popular teacher, and carried a normal teaching and committee load, I suspected sexual discrimination (and possibly political, since I was one of a handful of articulate liberals on a very conservative campus.)

I took legal counsel, but actual judicial action was considered risky by my lawyers in view of the lack of federal funding at _____ and of the then state of California laws on sexual discrimination. (The lawyers did feel, however, I had a prima facie case for the existence of discrimination.) After attending the AAUP convention in April and listening to discussions there concerning the role Committee W could be expected to perform and the applicability of existing procedures to sexual discrimination cases, I decided to use my situation as a possible test case.

I therefore wrote to the national office on April 28th, outlining the details of my situation, providing documentation of my charges, and charging violation of my academic freedom on the basis of sexual discrimination. I simultaneously informed the President and the APT Committee of _____ that I had done so.

Mr. Richard Peairs, Director of the Western Regional Office of the AAUP, in his reply of 19 May 1970, informed me that the AAUP would not take an interest in the matter until all local remedies had been tried. Specifically, he recommended that I should ask the faculty for "the development of an ad hoc grievance committee" to investigate my allegations. Since _____'s last faculty meeting was spent entirely in agitated debate over our minorities admission policy, I postponed any action on the grievance committee until this fall.

In September, however, I learned from our new Acting President that a check of the minutes of the Board of Trustees had revealed that I had in fact been promoted by the Board at the same time tenure was granted. (The president who had taken my tenure and promotion to the board had resigned in '68, so the major discussions had been with a new president who only lasted one year.) My "retroactive" promotion has now been officially acknowledged and my salary has also been increased retroactively.

I hope other women will be encouraged by my case to also stand up as individuals and challenge discriminatory practices. After all, I'm proof in a way that it can "pay" to fight and not just accept unjust treatment. Moreover, there is no evidence that I have hurt my standing with my colleagues as

a result of my action. Those who were offended were unlikely to have been friendly or supporters in any case; while many seemed to have been impressed that I didn't just retreat in humiliation. In any case, I have just been elected again to the faculty's highest elective committee!

Other women finding themselves in a similarly difficult position may find some of Mr. Peairs' advice about procedures in such cases especially useful:

> Let me add here, informally, some personal observations. I have seen a substantial number of faculty complaints on matters of academic privilege and tenure resolved successfully through careful pursuit by the faculty member of his rights, essentially through patient insistence upon answers to the questions troubling him.... I think it extremely important that ... you should persist in clearly establishing the failure of the dean and department chairman to respond substantively to your assertions. In other words, I think it wise that you do not permit the dean or the department chairman to "ignore" your appeal. You should insist, with appropriate academic reserve, that either they answer your questions or indicate their compelling reasons for a refusal to respond. Be reluctant to permit the ordinary viscosity of the academic bureaucracy to interfere with the resolution of your problem. Avoid any exchange of memorandized anger but emphasize your concern that in a dispute which appears to be crystallized to the degree of the present one, conscientious professionals should not be unwilling to set down their considered views for careful study so that an effective resolution can be selected from available options.
>
> It is important for you to recognize that the failure of the institution to move on your claim may rest upon responsible differences of professional opinion. Only a careful study of the issues will disclose the distinction between such differences of opinion and possible violations of academic freedom.

In view of the comment in the Berkeley report on women, that women have a tendency to wait for departments to push them for promotion and that they fail to take the initiative themselves (unlike their male colleagues), it seems to me important that women begin to pursue promotion and recognition more aggressively and to become aware of the effective procedures for defending themselves against discrimination.

* * * * * * * * *

The above history was taken from the CCWHE Newsletter, Vol. II, No. 1, because it closely parallels an ASA case that has not yet, alas, been as happily resolved and so cannot be discussed. Surely it must parallel other cases as well, and the words of the spokeswoman, Barbee-Sue Rodman of Claremont Men's College, should help women caught in similar dilemmas to refuse to "retreat into humiliation." Professor Rodman's statement also serves to conclude this chapter on an encouraging note.

"And when Pandora had released all the evils into the world, there was another thing left at the bottom of the box which also went out into the world, and that last thing was hope."

universities in general

December 1970. A small item appears on a list of bibliographies for women's history courses. The Women's History Research Center at Berkeley announces that you can get "for $1, a bibliography of items in our files . . . as of July 1969" made available so that other groups can "avoid having to start from scratch." You can also get "for $2, addenda to bibliography to Jan. 1970." Addenda to bibliography to Aug. 1970 will cost you $4, the size of the list of items having multiplied (presumably) this rapidly in the interim.

The geometric increase in price is one small measure of a giant leap in interest-- any bibliography in women's studies is bound to be out of date today before it has even left the printer's! The number of reports and studies on the status of women in American universities, which is the subject of the present chapter, has similarly increased by leaps and bounds during the past year--partly, no doubt, because of impending HEW investigations at individual campuses.

Some of these studies come from individual universities. Some have been conducted by other professional associations. Still others have been completed under government auspices and must be obtained through the appropriate federal or state agencies. Local chapters of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) deserve credit for instigating many, while local chapters of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) have encouraged others. Most important are the studies by a host of individual scholars who have been adding pieces to the mosaic during the past decade in books and articles gathering, reporting, and interpreting the statistics.

CHAPTER 2

Is it possible to summarize these studies, or to show succinctly why they are of such importance to the nation and its universities? The speech by Congresswoman Martha Griffiths to the House of Representatives that provided the opening salvo in the government's battle against the universities is still a classic of its kind to illustrate how the various kinds of evidence are interwoven; readers who count themselves among the uninitiated--unfamiliar with the issues, unconvinced of the problem, unaware of its several dimensions--are well advised to read this speech (in Part III,p.210) before proceeding further. WEAL and others have put out collections of findings that are useful for bringing into focus the patterns on particular issues. For example, on the issue of college admissions policies alone:

Fact Sheet: Admissions

21,000 women were turned down for college entrance in the State of Virginia; during the same period of time NOT ONE application of a male student was rejected.

--Report of Virginia Comm. for Study of Educ. Fac. in the State, 1964.

A girl needs higher marks to enter college than a boy.

--Caroline Bird, BORN FEMALE, 1969.

In New York City, for instance, admission cut-off scores for girls at Hunter College are significantly higher than for boys.

--Dr. Jean D. Grambs, Prof. Univ. of Maryland, editorial in WOMEN'S EDUCATION, Vol. VII, no. 1, March 1968.

We are aware of discriminatory practices towards girls in college admissions . . . and the discriminatory practices are usually reflective of the attitudes of a culture . . .

--"Implications for the Future," Summary of Midwest Regional Pilot Conference spon. by Women's Bureau & U.S. Office of Education, 1965.

It is well known that the professional schools have consistently discriminated against the qualified woman on the assumption, among other things, that she would marry early, and be irrevocably lost to the profession. It is a fallacy to assume [this] . . .

--Donald W. Fletcher, Dean of the Grad. School, San Francisco State College, "The Female Mind, A Wasted Natural Resource," WOMEN'S EDUCATION, Vol. VI, no.4, Dec. 1967.

About 2 out of 5 (40.1%) of the female '68 grads surveyed are enrolled in graduate schools . . . only 4.5% are in law school; 2.2% are in medical school; 2.1% are studying for the MBA's.

--"Why Doesn't Business Hire More College Trained Women?" PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT--POLICIES AND PRACTICES, Prentice Hall, Apr. 15, 1969.

The women students outnumber the males; [even though] the admission average for women is higher than for men.

--Anna Babey-Brooke and R.B. Amber, PROMOTIONAL PRACTICES AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE, CUNY: 1955-1970, July 1970.

Since its inception, the American high school has always graduated slightly more women than men, and the women have always done better scholastically, averaging around five points better . . .But something

> happens between the time these students walk out of the high school door and in through the college gate--the situation becomes reversed (. . . the male high school graduates are given preference, larger percentages of those who apply are accepted . . .)
>
> --Bulletin of the Department of Labor on Women in Colleges, part of bulletins on WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1969 and 1970.

Conclusions taken from studies on the other issues raised in Chapter One--grants, hiring, promotion, salaries, maternity leaves, anti-nepotism policies, part-time employment, and so on--could be similarly represented. In the course of this chapter, examples from the different kinds of studies that have appeared will be cited in support of generalizations about these, and other, issues. Although the citations that appear in this chapter could be combined with those that appear on bibliographies in Part II to put together a respectable collection of the major sources, no attempt is being made here to represent--or even to cite--all of the relevant studies. Such an attempt would be impossible under the circumstances in any case.

What is not very difficult at all, however, is to generalize about the findings in these studies as they affect women in universities. For as one reads report after report, two things soon become clear. First, the findings on the realities of general university policies and practices affecting women are depressingly the same. Second, the findings on the myths affecting women in universities--what Florence Howe, borrowing from Virginia Woolf, has called the "phantoms" women have had to fight ("It is harder to kill a phantom than a reality," Woolf said)--these studies are undermining, one after another, all the old shibboleths that have served in the past to maintain and justify these policies.

I. Studies in Myths

Let us take instances of the second kind of study first. One can cite the findings of Helen Astin, Donald Fletcher, Lindsay Harmon , Alice Rossi, Esther Westervelt, James A. Davis, Caroline Bird, National Academy of Science and Department of Labor reports, and the findings reported by Betty Friedan, Patricia Graham, and Florence Howe* as exploding such myths as these:

THE MYTH OF THE WASTED EDUCATION:

--the myth that education is wasted on women, especially graduate education, since they are not likely to use it in a professional capacity as much as men do.

> THE FACTS ARE that they certainly do use them, as Fletcher, Astin and Bird, among others, demonstrate. Astin shows 90+% of the women with doctorates still in the labor force; ". . . contrary to academic mythology, a higher percentage of women with doctorates go into college teaching than do men with doctorates. The argument that women are lost

*Astin, THE WOMAN DOCTORATE IN AMERICA, 1970; Fletcher, "The Female Mind, A Wasted Natural Resource," WOMAN'S EDUCATION, Vol. VI, no. 4, Dec. 1967; Harmon in SCIENCE MANPOWER, NRC study of 1965; Alice Rossi in Lifton, ed., THE WOMAN IN AMERICA and her piece in the special issue of ATLANTIC, March 1970; Westervelt in a paper at the Midwest Regional Pilot Conference sponsored by U.S. Office of Education; Eleanor Maccoby, ed., THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEX DIFFERENCES, 1966; Davis, GREAT ASPIRATIONS, 1964; Bird, BORN FEMALE: THE HIGH COST OF KEEPING WOMEN DOWN, 1969; Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, especially the footnotes to chapters; Patricia Graham, "Women in Academe," SCIENCE 1970 & other writings; Howe's statements in conjunction with reports to MLA on the MLA Commission appear in COLLEGE ENGLISH 1971--a special issue with other material in it as well--and in the MLA NEWSLETTERS.

to the academic world is also a myth," declares Rep. Griffiths, making good use of Astin's findings.

SAID SALLY IN PEANUTS: "I don't want to do anything important with my life. All I want to do when I grow up is to get married and be a good wife and mother. Why should I go to kindergarten?"

THE MYTHS ABOUT MARRIED PH.D.S

--(1) the myth that Ph.D.'s are wasted on women likely to marry (who are pretty or motherly in appearance, who are attractive to men); (2) the myth that married women are less likely than single women to use their graduate education, and are therefore less eligible for admission or fellowships (like the Woodrow Wilson applicants who testified in Chapter One to the bias against married women); (3) the myth that married women could not in any case contribute as significantly to research as men do.

THE FACTS ARE that married women PH.D.s who were employed full-time published not only as much but slightly more than either male Ph.D.s or unmarried female Ph.D.s (Graham); women who were married at the time of receiving their Ph.D.s were more capable academically than their unmarried female counterparts (Harmon, NAS). Astin's finding of 91% of women doctorates still in the labor force six to seven years later also contained the amendment that only 79% of this number had even once interrupted their careers in this time--i.e., for children or other reasons. She also shows that married women not only equalled men in the production of research but exceeded them in publication.

THE "NO-QUALIFIED-APPLICANTS" MYTH

--the myth that there are ("necessarily," due to "socialization" and "cultural conditioning") fewer female applicants as qualified as men, or no qualified female applicants, to be considered for the openings that occur.

THE FACTS ARE that women doctorate holders in the labor market already have proven qualification since they have "somewhat greater academic ability than their male counterparts" (Harmon, NAS, in Graham); that women who apply to become doctoral candidates are better qualified in terms of high school and college records than men (in Howe); and that a large pool of qualified applicants--including those qualified to teach in "prestigious" institutions (see YALE REPORT, p.32)is already available.

THE MYTH OF THE MALADJUSTED CHILDREN

--the myth that the children of teaching mothers (or any working mothers) are worse off than the children of non-working mothers--not as well-adjusted, not doing as well in school, not as happy, suffering from a lack of love and attention, suffering from confusion over maternal and paternal roles, suffering from the absence of stability in the home.

THE FACTS ARE that some of these statements are themselves based on value judgements open to question and the best are by now victims of the research of many scholars who have exposed their falsity. Few myths have been so completely overturned as this one, in studies from those reported by Betty Friedan to those reviewed by Alice Rossi. Some show children of working mothers to be better off; some show children of "fulfilled" mothers (whether fulfilled through home or career) to be better off; none show children of working mothers to be worse off. Many challenge the measures of what constitutes "adjusted"--and whether adjustment is a good thing. By alternate measures, children of working mothers still come off well. Children of mothers who are university teachers seem to come off well in almost any study.

THE "YOU'VE-COME-A-LONG-WAY-BABY" MYTH

--the myth that, however bad things may seem, they are slowly but surely getting better, discrimination against women is slowly but surely being eliminated, old attitudes are passing, and women can congratulate themselves on how far they have come since their grandmother's day.

THE FACTS ARE that the reverse is true. The decline that has set in at the university level, from degrees granted to women hired, has been widely reported and analyzed--yet this myth remains one of the phantoms that is hardest to kill. The conservatism that set in during the late 40s and the 50s, the "feminine mystique" that lured women away from careers, has been credited as one major reason for the decline--that is, women under its influence were thought to have left the university job market because they CHOSE to. Later studies are suggesting rather that they were PUSHED out--that is, that the milder forms of anti-feminism of the 40s gave way to open sexist bigotry, more and more blatant, until more and more women who did want to work were kept from doing so, or from reaching the same posts as those granted to men of the same ability, maturity and training.

BECAUSE THIS PARTICULAR MYTH has proven to be so intransigent and because a number of respondents to the ASA Questionnaire showed themselves not yet free from the assumption that conditions for women in universities has been slowly getting better, a special fact sheet on the decline of women in different phases of university life seems justified here.

Fact Sheet: "You've Come A Long Way, Baby"??

The proportion of women among college students in the U.S. increased from 21 per cent in 1870 to 47 per cent in 1920; it had declined to 35.2 per cent in 1958. Five women's colleges had closed; 21 had become coeducational; 2 had become junior colleges. In 1956, 3 out of 5 women in the coeducational colleges were taking secretarial, nursing, home economics, or education courses. Less than 1 out of 10 doctorates were granted to women, compared to 1 in 6 in 1920, 13 per cent in 1940. Not since before World War I have the percentages of American women receiving professional degrees been as consistently low as in this period. The extent of the retrogression of American women can also be measured in terms of their failure to develop their own potential. According to WOMANPOWER, of all the young women capable of doing college work, only one out of four goes to college, compared to one out of two men; only one out of 300 women capable of earning a Ph.D. actually does so, compared to one out of 30 men. If the present situation continues, American women may soon rank among the most "backward" women in the world. The U.S. is probably the only nation where the proportion of women gaining higher education has decreased in the past 20 years; it has steadily increased in Sweden, Britain, and France, as well as the emerging nations of Asia and the communist countries. By the 1950's, a larger proportion of French women were obtaining higher education than American women; the proportion of French women in the professions had more than doubled in fifty years. The proportion of French women in the medical profession alone is five times that of American women; 70% of the doctors in the Soviet Union are women, compared to 5% in America. See Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, WOMEN'S TWO ROLES--HOME AND WORK, London, 1956, pp. 33-64.

--Freidan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, 1963, p. 385 (a famous footnote).

In 1879, women held more than a third of the faculty positions in colleges and universities. By the 1960's, that ratio had dropped to less than a fourth. The proportion of women will probably dwindle even further.

--TIME, November 21, 1969.

Since the 1930's, women have actually received a decreasing proportion of master's degrees, doctorates and faculty appointments.
--Richard E. Farson, "The Rage of Women," LOOK, December 16, 1969.

At present 2 percent of the full professors at the University of Chicago are women, in contrast to 8 percent at the turn of the century, when Chicago was (as it still is) one of the top half dozen universities in the nation.
--Patricia Graham, SCIENCE, Sept. 1970.

In 1940, 28% of college faculties were women. In 1960, the percentage was down to 22%. 40% of teacher's college faculties are women; [but] only 10% of the faculties of prestigious private universities are women.
--Edwin C. Lewis, Prof. Univ. Iowa, DEVELOPING WOMEN'S POTENTIAL, 1968.

The tragic fact today is that women are losing ground in every segment of university life. Their proportion as students in college is not increasing. Their proportion as students at the graduate level is less now than in 1930. . . they now hold less than one-fourth, and at the prestigious Big Ten universities, they hold only about one-tenth of the university faculty positions.
--Griffiths, March 9, 1970 (in Part III) CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The percentage of M.D. degrees awarded in accredited medical schools has not increased since 1920. A similar situation prevails in the field of law . . . Even in college teaching, the proportion of women has declined from a peak of 30% in 1930 to about 22% today--a ration just about equal to what it was fifty years ago. . .
--Lindley J. Stiles, Dean, School of Educ., Univ. Wisc., in WOMEN IN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TEACHING, Univ. Wisc., 1963.

The earnings gap has not been narrowing in recent years but actually widening. Thus: In 1955, the average American woman who worked full time earned $63.90 for each $100 earned by the average American man. By 1960, she was earning only $60.80 for each $100 he got. By 1968, her average was only $58.20. Even in the teaching field, traditionally female, only 19 percent of college-level faculties are made up of women, although 30 years ago it was 30 percent. Here, as everywhere else women turn their eyes, the gap seems to be widening.
--U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, April 13, 1970.

The proportion of women in college educational leadership positions was lower in the mid-1960's than it was 25 or even 10 years before. IN THIS RESPECT, WOMEN SEEM TO BE ADVANCING TO THE REAR.
--Lewis, DEVELOPING WOMEN'S POTENTIAL.

That Stupid Commercial That Says
"YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY BABY"
IS A LIE!

Women are relatively more disadvantaged today than they were 15 years ago. The median wage of year-around full time women workers was 64% that of men in 1955. It was only 60% that of men in 1964, while today it is only 58% that of men!

The Median Wage Of Year-Around, Full-Time Workers Tells the Brutal Story

	White Men	Non-white men	White women	Non-white women
1964	$6,497.00	$4,285.00	$3,859.00	$2,674.00
1965	6,289.00	4,012.00	3,744.00	2,642.00
1966	7,350.00	4,712.00	4,246.00	3,020.00
1967	7,512.00	5,069.00	4,394.00	3,363.00

--POSTER, issued by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

II. Studies in Realities

Apart from the myths, however, what of the realities affecting the status of women in universities? Here the studies coming out almost daily from individual universities are particularly telling.

The bombshell that acted to force these studies, which are exposing more and more the underpinnings of sexist discrimination in universities, was without question the executive order that made possible the investigations of the offending campuses by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Executive Order No. 11375 amends Executive Order No. 11246 to prohibit government contractors from discriminating on the basis of sex in employment. It requires contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Specific areas covered are named in the order. In June 1970, the Department of Labor issued guidelines for implementing the order, requiring contractors to take "affirmative action to recruit women to apply for those jobs where they have been previously excluded" and specifically prohibiting discrimination based on marital status and children. Noncompliance with these guidelines could lead to suspending or cancelling the university's contracts, but before cancellation, mediation and persuasion must be attempted. As a result of mediation efforts at the University of Michigan, the first important test case, these nine requirements were outlined for such an Affirmative Action Plan:

HEW GUIDELINES FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The following are excerpts from HEW's nine requirements for an affirmative action plan for ending sex discrimination at the University of Michigan. The university must:

1. Achieve salary equity in every job category in the university.
2. Compensate, through the payment of back wages, each female employee who has lost wages due to discriminatory treatment by the university. Payment must be retroactive to 13 October 1968 (the date President Johnson amended Executive Order 11246 to include sex discrimination).
3. Achieve a ratio of female employment in academic positions at least equivalent to availability as determined by the number of qualified female applicants.
4. Increase ratios of female admissions to all Ph.D. graduate programs.
5. Increase the participation of women in committees involving the selection and treatment of employees.
6. Develop a written policy on nepotism which will insure correct treatment of tandem teams.
7. Analyze past effects of nepotism and retroactively compensate (to 13 October 1968) any person who has suffered discrimination.
8. Assure that female applicants for nonacademic employment receive consideration commensurate with their qualifications. The university must also ensure that the concept of male and female job classifications is eliminated through changes in recruitment procedures.
9. Assure that all present female employees occupying clerical or other nonacademic positions and who possess qualifications equal to or exceeding those of male employees occupying higher level positions be given primary consideration for promotion to higher level positions.

What is it exactly that the statistics from individual universities reveal that is pertinent to these guidelines? Most are thick mimeographed reports filled with tables of statistics. There are statistics giving percentages of women in each department, how long they have been there, what their ranks are, when they were given tenure, when promoted, and what their average or median salaries are as compared to those of men. In some reports, the number of women on the faculty is measured against the number available in the national pool. Some reports give attention to the number and kind of administrative posts that women hold, what they earn in these posts as compared to men, how long they have held them--in short, what the "power position" of women is in the university. Others have investigated anti-nepotism, maternity leave policy, day care alternatives, comparisons between single and married women, part-time policies, and other issues. Some representative sections from a range of reports, selected not for the purpose of comparison but to illustrate the range of issues and the types of findings, will be found in the paragraphs that follow.

The reports from some of the schools focussed on areas of particular importance to them or particular interest to us for this chapter. For example,

YALE Yale's report included tables comparing the available pool of women from "high prestige" universities (i.e. Harvard, Princeton, Chicago, Berkeley, Michigan, Columbia, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, and Yale itself among those mentioned) to the women on the Yale faculty. After a comprehensive study, these conclusions emerge:

> "Table 7 and 8 indicate that while a significant proportion of the Ph.D.'s from the most prestigious universities have been awarded to women, Yale has not recruited them for its faculty.
>
> "We are forced to conclude that Yale has discriminated against women, solely on the basis of sex. In the departments that do hire Yale Ph.D.'s the percentage of women on the faculty is much less than the percentage we would expect based on the number of Ph.D.'s awarded to women. In the departments which do not hire Yale Ph.D.'s the percentage of women on the faculty is much less than the percentage we would expect based on the number of Ph.D.'s awarded to women at other prestigious universities (from which most male Yale faculty members are hired.)" YALE REPORT, p.17.

(This section of the report is especially interesting in the light of the claim by a faculty respondent from Yale, which has a large American Studies program, that their only problem now is "finding suitably able women.")

INDIANA Indiana's report added a twist of its own to the analysis of time in rank of men and women on the faculty; the report made an effort to ascribe blame.

> "Over the three-year period, women had been in rank an average of 6.07 years before being recommended for promotion; men had been in rank an average of 4.84 years before recommendation for promotion . . . .Women were in rank about 1.23 years longer than men before being recommended for promotion and 1.58 years longer before actually being promoted.
>
> "The primary reason for obtaining both sets of figures was to provide at least a rough estimate of the locus of discrimination . . . . [The] difference was not statistically significant [in the second case], corroborating the earlier evidence that the primary source of the longer time in rank before both recommendation and promotion was at the departmental level." INDIANA UNIVERSITY, AAUP REPORT, pp. 27-28.

U.M.B.C.

The University of Maryland, Baltimore County--which has a large American Studies program--provided a picture of the "inverted pyramid" that describes where men are in the rising ranks, as compared to women.

Proportion of men and women at different ranks
(from UMBC Bulletin, September, 1969)

	MEN	WOMEN
Professor	14.4%	7.4%
Assoc. Prof.	15.5%	11.1%
Asst. Prof.	36.1%	33.3%
Instructor	25.8%	33.3%
Lab Inst./Grad. Asst.	4.1%	7.4%
Lecturer	4.1%	7.4%
	100.0%	99.9%

BROOKLYN

A thick collection of tables comparing ranks in three science departments and three humanities departments at Brooklyn College ends with a list of devastating conclusions, including these:

"1. With regard to BIOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, and PHYSICS: Men gained in large numbers. Women are practically eliminated in these three departments.

2. With regard to EDUCATION, ENGLISH, and SPEECH: The Education, English, and Speech Departments have the most women in the College. Never in the history of the existence of these three departments did the women have a majority in the senior ranks. . . .

3. With regard to discrimination against women:
Women are doubly discriminated against: They cannot move into the senior ranks in the department in which they predominate. They cannot move out from the junior ranks in those departments where they are a minority and so they remain moored in the junior ranks.

4. With regard to the Department of English: In 1955-56, a 50-50 ratio practically existed; but in 1970, the number of men was doubled, but the number of women remained stationary.
WOMEN ARE BEING WEEDED OUT AT THE APPOINTMENT LEVEL. In 1970, the senior ranks should be even. This fact holds true in the rank of associate professor, but not in the rank of full professor.

5. With regard to the Department of Speech: Speech is almost as bad as English.

6. With regard to the Department of Education: This is the only department where women gained."

--Anna Babey-Brooke and R.B. Amber,
PROMOTIONAL PRACTICES AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE, CUNY: 1955-1970, July 1970.

BROWN

Brown University gave attention to comparing the fate of single to married women on the faculty, concluding that:

"Married women, particularly faculty wives with professional academic qualifications, found it easier to be hired by the University, but much more difficult to get professorial rank (whether the husband was or was not a faculty member). The contrast, therefore, amounted to this: that the single woman might encounter more initial difficulty but would have better long-range career prospects; that the married woman would more easily find employment but would be handicapped in securing appropriate salary increases, advancement, or tenure." BROWN, p. 14

FLORIDA

Florida investigated nepotism policies at fourteen universities around the country with which it had been compared and reported, in June of 1971:

"1. 10 of the 14 have eliminated the anti-nepotism policy.

2. Of the remaining 4, 3 are currently reviewing their policy on recommendation of chairmen, deans and chancellors.

3. Of the 10 that have eliminated . . . 2 permit employment in the same department without exception (if 2 persons are related), 6 do not permit it--but of these 2 say an administrator may make exceptions and 4 permit it IF NEITHER PERSON HAS ANYTHING TO DO WITH PROMOTION, POLICY DECISIONS AND SALARIES.

4. Of the 10, 5 offer tenure on merit only, 5 do not include that aspect of their policy in their response.

RECOMMENDATION: It is recommended that the policy on nepotism as stated (at the University of Florida) be rescinded and that tenure be equally accessible to husband and wife . . . ." REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE TO STUDY OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN, University of Florida, p. 3.

HARVARD

Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences passed the following resolution at a regular meeting in May of 1971. The clause on part-time instruction will be of particular interest to American Studies.

"VOTED: 1. That the Faculty endorse the major conclusion of the Committee on the Status of Women, 'that the number of women in the Faculty must be increased,' and urge its officers, its department chairmen, and the members of its search committees to work toward that end; and

That the Faculty urge the Dean to appoint as soon as possible a Standing Committee on Women to assist in the work of bringing more women onto the Faculty to report periodically on its success.

2. That the Faculty permit part-time appointments with full faculty privileges to be made to any of the present professorial ranks subject to the following conditions: --that normal appointment procedures and normal academic standards be maintained; --that at any particular time, no more than a few members of any particular department (the precise number to be negotiated between department chairmen and the Dean) should be working on a part-time basis; --that non-tenured part-time appointments be for the usual term.

3. That the Faculty recommend that any non-tenured professor, full or part-time, who becomes pregnant during her appointment shall be allowed an extension of the appointment for one year for each pregnancy, not to exceed a total of two years . . . ." HARVARD REPORT, p. 1.

RUTGERS

Rutgers University's AAUP has pledged its support to the principle of "retroactive salary adjustment" to women who have been discriminated against. Having studied both the controversial "back-pay" clause of the HEW guidelines for Michigan and the evidence of inequities at Rutgers-Newark, the AAUP concluded that "an investigation should be conducted college by college, department by department, to locate cases of salary inequities" so that all the women at Rutgers who have been underpaid and who have a claim to back pay can be reimbursed, retroactive to October 1969 (the date the Executive Order went into effect).

Salaries

To many of the faculties of the individual universities, the most shocking news has been the report of salary inequities on their own campuses, despite the fact that studies published by the government and by individual scholars showing such inequities have been available for some time. Apparently, it takes a study that brings the proof closer to home to convince a great many. *Closely linked* to salaries, of course, are the inequities in rank and promotion.

RUTGERS-NEWARK

Among the colleges the Commission heard from, Rutgers-Newark, Illinois, Kansas, Indiana, Brown and Chicago had already completed faculty salary surveys and reported inequities in every case but one; the others were just beginning surveys or asking to have them made. At Rutgers-Newark, mean salaries were reported which may be compared with the average salaries the University of Kansas reported (for all faculty excluding medical school): Only the differences are reported below:

	Rutgers-Newark	University of Kansas
Professor	$4,065 less for women	$2,993 less for women
Associate	497 less for women	1,734 less for women
Assistant	461 less for women	811 less for women
Instructor	327 less for women	331 less for women
Lecturer	. . . . .	1,095 less for women
Overall average	$3,246 less for women	$2,064 less for women

KANSAS

The Kansas Report also says: "No regularly appointed woman full professor is paid the average salary for a male professor, that is, $17,857. . . . Within the College the average salary for a male professor is $17,914. The average salary for a female professor is $15,383." (KANSAS AAUP, COMMITTEE W REPORT)

INDIANA

Indiana University's AAUP reports on the salary survey made by two members of the Economics Department, S. Barry and M. Erenburg, who "examined the contributions of the following factors to salary: type of appointment, rank, school of the university, length of time since receipt of highest degree, and sex. When the other factors were held constant statistically, men received an average of $98.19 more per month than women in 1968. . . . In general men were paid more than women of the same rank in the same division of the university." (INDIANA AAUP, p.33.)

BROWN

Brown's AAUP found that the problem was not in salaries per se but in the refusal to promote women to allow them to be considered for the higher salaries. "The salaries of female faculty in 'regular' ranks compare favorably with those of male faculty. Although this is also true at the ranks of Lecturer and Research Associate, the fact that women tend to remain at this level while men usually go rapidly on to professorial positions indicates that these women ARE NOT BEING ADEQUATELY COMPENSATED." (BROWN, p. 18)

ILLINOIS

A more sophisticated study and report than all of the above was made possible at the University of Illinois (Urbana) in 1970 by the fact that an original salary survey had been made in 1968 (Carey) followed by another study of salaries in 1969 (Tousey). The second compared closely in general figures with the first but broke down findings to individual departments, in addition to going further to measure how many years women were in each rank in each department as compared to men. The table below combines figures by Carey and Tousey, as selected from the report in Marianne Ferber and Jane Loeb, "Rank, Pay and Representation . . ." November, 1970.

	1968-69 Mean Salary Differences	College D, 1969 Salary Differences	College F, Rate of Rank Advancement
Professor		$2,506 less	Assoc. to Full: 2.07 years longer
9-month	$3,107 less for women		
11-month	2,582 " " "		
Associate		911 less	
9-month	1,602 less for women		Asst. to Assoc.: 5.22 years longer
11-month	55 less		
Assistant		655 less	
9-month	933 less for women		
11-month	1,272 less		Instr. to Asst.: 2.26 years longer
Instructor		1,305 less	
9-month	1,335 less for women		
11-month	2,554 less		

Ferber and Loeb manage, after a comprehensive survey of rank, pay, and representation, to compress their conclusions into four sentences: "The present report summarizes data which indicate that women are hired less frequently than their availability in the labor market would lead one to expect, that they tend to hold lower ranks than men when hired, and that their salaries tend to be lower than those of men holding the same ranks. The data suggest that women are underrepresented on administrative committees and indicate that they are appointed to administrative positions such as Department Head or Dean less frequently than their numbers on the faculty would allow. A comparison of the productivity of men and women on the faculty indicates that there is little difference between the sexes in production of publications or in amount of professional experience. Thus failure to recruit women as actively as men cannot be readily justified."

The studies at individual universities, in other words, confirm again and again that women are concentrated in the lower ranks and that they receive lower salaries. It is well to compare these individual findings with national averages, however, and averages in the individual professions. An important factor mentioned in the most recent Rutgers AAUP report, for example, is that the findings on salary inequities at Rutgers-Newark are "consistent with other studies done within the academic community," with the MLA study singled out for mention. A fact sheet summarizing findings on salaries and promotions seems to be in order.

Fact Sheet: Salaries and Promotions

". . . women college and university teachers make a median annual salary of $7,732, while men make $9,275 /NEA, "Salaries . . .," 1966/; . . . women in the highest educational classification of the Census (5 years or more of college) made nearly $4,000 less than men in that same classification.

APA

The field of psychology is no exception to this rule of sexual discrimination in the professions: the median yearly salary for male psychologists (employed full-time) is $13,800; for female $11,600 . . . ."("Psychology and the New Woman," STATEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN PSYCHOLOGISTS TO THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, Sept. 1970.)

"We also found strong evidence of salary differences between men and women full-time faculty members. The median income of women assistant and associate professors is about $1000 less than median incomes for men at similar ranks. At the rank of full professor, women earn about $3000 less than men. In part, these discrepancies are due to the fact that relatively more women teach in departments which pay lower salaries--to women and men. That is to say, the less prestigious institutions in which women teach also pay lower salaries. But our figures also show that, regardless of prestige and salary scale, women are paid lower salaries than men at the same ranks in the same department." ("The Status of Women: A Summary," MLA COMMISSION ON WOMEN, 1970, p.3.)

MLA

Professor Jo Tice Bloom . . . noted that 88 percent of women college teachers earn less than $10,000 a year, 55 percent of the male professors earn the same salary.

--report on panel discussion at the American Historical Association, Washington EVENING STAR, Dec. 30, 1969.

. . . in the social sciences, women tend to be promoted less rapidly than do their male counterparts. This suggests that in fields in which women comprise A LARGER COMPONENT OF THE TOTAL WORK FORCE, MORE DISCRIMINATION IN PROMOTIONS may be expected (emphasis added).

--Helen Astin, "Sex Differences in Academic Rank & Salary . . .," JOURNAL OF HUMAN RESOURCES, vol. III, #2, Spring 1968.

. . . women tend to be concentrated at the lower levels of academic rank and to make less money than their male counterparts. Those in the higher ranks are found primarily in departments of education, home economics, and library science, and are more often in women's colleges than in coeducational schools. . . . As in public school teaching, administrative positions in the colleges go mostly to men and there is no indication of change in the near future.

--Edwin C. Lewis, DEVELOPING WOMEN'S POTENTIAL, Iowa State U. Press,'68.

Recent analysis by Harmon of the careers of men and women holding PhD's further underlines that sharp sex difference in ascending the academic ladder to a full professor: confining attention to men and women who have spent twenty years in academia and who hold PhD's in the social sciences, Harmon shows that 90% of the men had reached a full professorship, something achieved by only 53% of the single women and 41% of the married women. It is also clear from these data that it is sex and not the special situation or responsibilities of married women that makes the greatest difference in career advancement.

--Alice S. Rossi, manuscript written for ATLANTIC MONTHLY, March 1970, on WEAL Fact Sheet.

Women with doctorates are less likely than men to be teaching advanced courses. Women hold lower ranks than men with comparable qualifications in all kinds of institutions.

--Jessie Bernard, ACADEMIC WOMEN, 1964.

MLA

Proportionately more women teach in departments offering the BA as their highest degree or in departments with two-year AA programs. Proportions of women who are assistant, associate, or full professors decline notably in departments with MA or MAT programs, and fall still lower for departments offering the PhD. For example, women are 28% of all full professors holding doctorates in BA programs, 26% in AA programs, 19% in MA and MAT programs, but only 7% of the full professors in doctoral programs. In short, women are concentrated in the less prestigious institutions, with the higher teaching loads, the infrequent leaves, the uncertain libraries--the places from which most members of our profession have been taught to move.

Women are also concentrated in courses at the level of French 100 or Freshman English or the Sophomore Survey--the percentage of women doing the teaching declines as the course level rises. In the sample as a whole, the proportions of women range from 45% of faculty members teaching first and second year courses only to but 12% of faculty members teaching graduate courses only. Even when women find their way into departments offering graduate degrees, the great majority of them teach only undergraduates. For example, in departments with PhD programs, 41% of the faculty responsible for first and second year courses are women; whereas women constitute only 14% of the faculty teaching both undergraduate and graduate courses, and a mere 8% of the faculty teaching only graduate courses.

--"The Status of Women: A Summary," MLA Commission on Women

Composite Portrait

From all of these studies and others, a composite portrait emerges. Some studies are still in progress, of course, so the data are incomplete. Nonetheless, the similarities among these different universities are so striking that there is little risk involved any longer in generalization. At least twelve distinct characteristics describe the composite portrait of American university policies and practices.

1 a very high percentage of administrative posts are held by men; often the sole exception is the Dean of Women, who will frequently be paid less than the Dean of Men;

2 a very high percentage of department chairmen is also male, the exceptions limited to specific fields characterized as "women's work" (even these often have male chairmen) such as Nursing, Home Economics, some areas of Education and Social Work;

3 the total number and percentage of women on the faculty is disproportionately small (nationally today only 18%, as compared to over 33% in the 1930's); percentages are smaller still in the "prestigious" colleges;

4 a very low percentage of full professors--percentages around 2% to 5% emerging in studies--are women, and their salaries are conspicuously lower than those of male full professors;

5 the percentage of associate professors is also disproportionately low, and they are also paid less, with studies like those by Babey-Brooke revealing the greatest discrimination against women to occur when they wish to cross the threshold into the rank of associate professor with tenure (the most obvious, undisguised resistance on the grounds of sex is revealed here);

6 although there are more women in the ranks of assistant professors and instructors than in the senior ranks, they are still underrepresented and underpaid in these two lowest ranks as compared to men;

7 women tend to be denied tenure; as a result, there are more women in non-tenured than tenured ranks nationally and there will be a greater turnover of women than men in a given department over a period of time;

8 more women are used in "irregular" categories such as lecturer, research associate, teaching assistant, and especially part-time instructor than are men of equal ability and experience;

9 the pyramid that describes where women are in a department or university --increasing in numbers as they approach the bottom ranks--is the reverse of the "inverted pyramid" that shows where men are;

10 women are paid less than men in all areas--partly because they are paid less for the same jobs, partly because they are placed in the "irregular" job classifications that pay less;

11 women tend to carry heavier work loads than men at equivalent rank, and tend to teach fewer advanced courses, the number of women decreasing as one travels up the scale toward more advanced courses in a given department or university;

12 women tend to teach at universities with less prestige or in departments that offer less advanced degrees, the number of women decreasing as one travels up the scale toward departments with more advanced degree offerings.

III. Gapsmanship

AND THE PRINCIPLE OF PROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION

What should be the guideline to measure how well or how poorly a given department, profession, or university is doing in correcting its inequities? What fair measure may be used to determine its goals, to estimate how much change will be necessary?

At most universities to date, the need is still to alert the faculty and community to the fact that inequities exist. For this purpose, the habit of "gapsmanship" has proven effective. Since it is difficult to get many of the uninformed to pay attention to the problem at all, much less plow through tables of statistics, the technique has developed of selecting a few statistics to contrast to one another in order to reveal the gap between them. For instance, Patricia Graham reports on Stanford by contrasting the fact that 15% of its graduate students are women while only 2% of the full professors are women, while Alberta Siegel's report on Stanford contrasts the number with faculty status, 11,043, against the number of women, among them--49, or less than 5%--and the fact that 10% of Stanford's assistant professors are women against the 2% of full professors. (Siegel, WEAL sheet) In Martha Griffiths indictment, Columbia University is singled out: "The excuse often given that there is a shortage of qualified women is ridiculous. For example, at Columbia University women receive about 25% of its doctoral degrees, but comprise only 2% of the tenured faculty in its graduate schools." Even more searing is Congresswoman Griffiths' attack on the University of Pennsylvania. "Somehow women who are qualified enough to be hired are not 'qualified' enough to be promoted. In some places, they simply are not hired at all. The University of Pennsylvania, for example, has only four departments with more than two women, and 26 departments with no women at all. Similar incredible examples exist in many universities . . ." It is particularly embarrassing to American Studies to have Pennsylvania thus singled out as the "incredible example" to set before the nation, since ASA national headquarters and the editorial offices of the AMERICAN QUARTERLY have been located there, and Pennsylvania has had one of the larger programs in the nation. Unfortunately, its Department of American Civilization is one of the 26 Rep. Griffiths singled out as having no women at all. (Among questionnaire respondents, many Penn graduates sent in responses but only one member of the senior staff even bothered to return the questionnaire; the students and former students all mentioned the absence of women on the American Civilization staff, some commenting also on the attitude toward women of the Penn faculty, and one mentioning the poverty of ladies' rooms.)

STANFORD

COLUMBIA

PENNSYLVANIA

Embarrassment for American Studies is also appropriate after examining the gaps in a report put out for the University of Kansas by its Commission on the Status of Women in 1969-70. Schools and departments with large numbers of women enrolled proved to be among the worst offenders in employing few women as faculty members. American Studies made the poorest showing of all, with the highest percentage of women students and the lowest of women faculty.

KANSAS

Examples	% of women earning B.A.	% of women on faculty
School of Journalism	45.60%	9.50% (none full time)
School of Fine Arts	65.30%	21.80% (20 individuals)
School of Education	77.30%	25.60% (19 individuals)
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences	59.10%	8.40% (48 individuals)
Department of American Studies	85.70% [highest]	0 [lowest]
Department of Math	21.00%	3.70%
Department of Sociology	73.50%	5.90%
Department of Spanish	75.00%	[lowest]
Department of Speech	52.80%	8.80%

A unique display of gapsmanship appears on the report sent in from the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. In this case, the focus is upon contrasting women in faculty positions to those in non-faculty jobs, as well as women in administration. What is peculiarly stunning is the way the appeal is made: "Women are in evidence everywhere at UMBC, but no female student need mistake the image this University projects of a typical occupational role for her sex. Just as blacks on this campus are found in menial positions more often than otherwise, so women are everywhere in service and assistance positions.

U.M.B.C.

22% of the full-time faculty are women, but
13% of the professors,
12% of the discipline coordinators,
0% of the division chairmen and
0% of the decision-making administrators are women.

On the other hand,
100% of the secretaries,
100% of the cafeteria counter personnel,
100% of the second rank staff in the Registrars office and
91% of the second rank staff in the Library are women . . .

Where women predominate numberically, men are their administrators. Furthermore, according to statistics attached to this statement, the percentage of women at UMBC is declining with the growth of the campus."

--Memorandum from New University Conference, SEXUAL DISCRIMINATION IN UNIVERSITY PRACTICES, Resolutions to be presented to UMBC Assembly May 1970.

More sophisticated than the simpler forms of gapsmanship is the ladder of statistics that shows step by step how women have been pushed down at each stage of advancement. For example, the ladder of statistics for the University of Chicago, based on figures Jo Freeman included in the Appendix to her report on women in the social sciences (figures for students are from 1967-68; for faculty from 1968-69), shows that women at the university were:

CHICAGO

39.2% of the students in the college,
40.8% of the B.A.'s given
27.8% of the students in graduate and professional schools
25.1% of the Ph.D.'s given
28.0% of the total number of degrees (722) given,
6.6% of the total faculty
25.9% of the lecturers (29 of 112)
13.0% of the instructors
11.2% of the assistant professors
5.6% of the associate professors
2.4% of the full professors

Here one can see quite clearly that at each stage up the professional ladder there are fewer women, so that women are allowed to pay tuition as students and prepare themselves for professions, including college teaching, but then they are shut out from entering these same professions. Although one-fourth of all the graduate students at the University of Chicago are women, only one out of fifteen or so of the professors these students will have will be a woman. As Freeman put it, "Women can buy at the University of Chicago, they may even be given a fellowship. But once they have their Ph.D.'s their status changes. Women can buy here but they cannot work." (Freeman, "Women in the Social Science Faculties since 1892," on mimeograph, p. 8)

The best demonstrations of disproportionate representation are those that provide a ladder of statistics for an entire profession. For here the

disparities between percentages cannot be blamed upon the peculiarities of institution or department but reveal a pattern of discrimination in a profession taken as a whole, a pattern that cuts straight across university differences. For example, in Alice Rossi's pioneering study of sociology as a profession, women are:

Sociology

30% of all Ph.D.'s granted in sociology;
39% of the "subprofessorial" appointments (including research assoc);
14% of the assistant professors in sociology;
9% of the associate professors in sociology;
5% of the associate professors in top graduate schools;
4% of all full professors in sociology;
1% of the full professors in top graduate schools.

A report of particular importance to American Studies is the one completed in 1970 by the Modern Language Association Commission on Women. Since ASA has close historical ties with MLA and since many American Studies programs and teachers have close ties to English departments, it may be assumed that many of the percentages that hold for MLA members hold for ASA members as well. Again the ladder of percentages shows clearly how women are depleted from the ranks as they move up, even in a profession in which they are a majority among the graduate students (55%). Among the 595 departments included in the study, women were:

Modern Languages

69% of all seniors planning graduate study in foreign languages
65% of all seniors planning graduate study in English
55% of the graduate students in modern languages
55% of the M.A.'s who received degrees in the last five years
31% of the Ph.D.'s who received degrees in the last five years
33% of the faculty with full-time appointments
32% of the full-time assistant professors
28% of the full-time associate professors
18% of full-time professors
18% of faculty members teaching at least one graduate course
10% of faculty teaching only graduate students in MA or MAT programs
8% of faculty teaching only graduate students in departmsnts with Ph.D. programs.

"The pattern is very clear: over half our graduate students are women; no more, and generally less, than one in five of their graduate school teachers will be a woman. About half the full-time Instructors and Lecturers in our profession are women; only 18% of the full professors are. How to explain these discrepancies?" (THE STATUS OF WOMEN: A SUMMARY)

The 1970 report explored a variety of explanations, and in December of 1970, the MLA adopted two resolutions based on these findings and adapted to the HEW guidelines; after these were passed, the profession itself was pledged to "affirmative action" to correct inequities. An Affirmative Action Questionnaire was then sent to the membership, with questions geared to a list of Guidelines that educated readers on the purposes of HEW action at the same time that questions were asked. A number of the questions used on the ASA questionnaire were borrowed or adapted from MLA. It now seems likely that other professions will insist upon following the examples set by the fields of sociology and the modern languages.

One answer, then, to the question asked at the outset of this section--what measure should be used to determine goals?--is implicit in these ladders of statistics. The measure may be called the principle of proportionate representation. This principle is the one accepted and defined by the third of the HEW guidelines for Michigan:

3. Achieve a ratio of female employment in academic positions at least equal to availability as determined by the number of qualified applicants.

A good rule of thumb to determine what this ratio should be is the number of women receiving terminal degrees from one's own department, university, or profession. Another is the number of graduates in the profession's national pool. As a "fairness doctrine," the principle of proportionate representation also provides a guideline to the number of women that ought to be in administrative posts, on councils and editorial boards, on author lists for quarterlies, and on committees of all kinds.

The principle has been challenged as "too conservative" by those who feel the true measure should be the same as the population, 51+%. A middle stance between these extremes has been taken by those who argue that the female population in the college (all students) should be the measure--or at the very least, the female population in all classes of a particular department or field. While it is generally understood that the gap between the present (2% full professors, etc.) and the ideal (50%) cannot be closed overnight, proponents of the more liberal views argue that it is the task of universities not merely to admit in all honesty the proportionate misrepresentation that now prevails but also to define goals in larger terms--the eventual goals for the entire society. (As a reflection of these two points of view, see Resolution 12 and Alternate 12, in Chapter Six , with the "Supporting papers.")

A Matter of Raising Consciousness: The ASA Questionnaire

It is only when one compares the findings we have examined to what people in the professions still believe to be true about the ways universities treat women that one becomes aware of the distance between belief and reality, profession and practice, values and behavior, in this region of American life. The polarity between these extremes is central to the study of American life and all too familiar to students in American Studies. What follows in this section, then, is, in one sense, a familiar theme played this time to a new rhythm.

The decision by the ASA Commission to send questionnaires to the men as well as the women in the association was made primarily so that "consciousness-raising" questions might be included that aimed at informing the membership of the inequities that existed. If the pattern emerging from early individual studies was as clear and repetitive as it seemed to be, it seemed likely that scholars all over the nation need look no further than their own departments and universities to be alerted to what HEW is calling "pattern discrimination" based on sex. The challenge was to frame questions so as to force such an awareness while at the same time probing to see how much change has already taken place as a result of HEW pressure. There was no intent originally to compile results on the questions aimed at "consciousness-raising"--in the present case, questions #13 and 14 on the questionnaire--unless a significant number of universities were showing an early response to the HEW challenge.

But as our results began to come in, we decided to see if the answers given to this series of questions elicited the same sort of pattern for men as for women. Objectively, there should not have been any observable difference between them if large enough samplings were used, since the questions were not about the respondents themselves, their experiences or opinions, but about their departments and universities--information which was verifiable through other sources. Surely, we thought, it would occur to respondents that others from the same universities would be answering these same questions, so that they would be strongly motivated to be as accurate as possible. Moreover, the content of the questions would introduce those who were new to the subject to the heirarchy of issues we anticipated would be covered in the resolutions presented to ASA for action--(1) issues relating to "stages in the climb" (admissions, grants, hiring and recruitment, tenure, promotion); (2) the "laundry list" of issues relating to university structure (anti-nepotism, maternity leave, parental leave, part-time teaching, day care centers); and (3) the issues relating to the HEW investigations suggested to us by the MLA "Affirmative Action Questionnaire."

Here is what we found when we compared the answers given by the first 167 men and the first 67 women to return their questionnaires.

IS YOUR AMERICAN STUDIES CHAIRMAN MALE? The vast majority said yes, both men and women, with ca. 10% of each sex not answering. The sprinkling of no answers could be accounted for by a handful of chairwomen--one each in the states of Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky (and two others).

HOW OFTEN HAVE WOMEN BEEN CHAIRMEN? Again, a majority of both sexes said never, with somewhat larger numbers not answering, presumably because some knew less of the past than the present. The sprinkling of once answers matched the no answers above.

IS THE CHAIRMAN OF ANY OTHER DEPARTMENT IN WHICH YOU TEACH MALE? For those who answered, the picture of results was about the same as for #1 above, a strong yes vote, 5% no, 5% not answering.

ARE ALL OR MOST OF THE TOP ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS HELD BY MEN? A very high percentage of men and women answered yes, few not answering and fewer still saying no (these in women's colleges).

NUMBER AND % OF WOMEN (IN ADMINISTRATION)? Here a noticeable change occurs--a much higher percentage of men fail to answer (why?); twice as many women as men specify that the percentage is low; 19 respondents write in none or none at all; 7 write in the name of the one they have: the Dean of Women.

ARE MOST FULL PROFESSORS IN YOUR DEPARTMENT (AS OR OTHER) MALE? ARE MOST ASSOCIATE PROFESSORS MALE? These two questions, interestingly, elicited the largest number of total responses, with people who failed to answer other questions pausing to answer this one. By overwhelming numbers, men and women attested yes.

ARE MOST OF THE WOMEN FACULTY CLUSTERED IN THE LOWER RANKS?
(NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ASSISTANT PROFESSORS?_____
INSTRUCTORS?_____ LECTURERS?_____ PART-TIME?_____)
It is on this question that the difference between male and female responses began to be noticeable and perplexing.
54% of the women said yes compared to 35.3% of the men;
12% of the women said no compared to 26% of the men;
34% of the women and 31% of the men did not answer.

In other words, despite the heavy yes answers on male domination in the ranks of full and associate professors, a much larger number and percentage of men than women still insist that the women are not clustered in the lower ranks. Where are they then? A few explain that they have no women (so how could they be clustered??!); we might assume a few others may mean the same. Or if most senior professors are men, there may still be a few women, and if the department is low on women assistant professors and instructors as well, the net result is an "unclustered" department--i.e., a few token women distributed through the ranks. Yet why should so significant a percentage of women be sure that they are in the lower ranks while so many men are sure they are not???

On the remainder of the question, many simply did not know how many women were in all categories, or they chose to leave the spaces blank. Others conscientiously gave exact numbers or percentages, a larger percentage of women than men making an attempt to answer. The most noticeable trait was the tendency of the male no-voters to deny clustering and run--i.e., leave all the remaining spaces blank.

The next group of questions was prefaced with the phrase, "SO FAR AS YOU KNOW," which applied to all of them:

DO THE WOMEN IN THIS DEPARTMENT CARRY HEAVIER TEACHING LOADS THAN MEN?

A total of 80% said no, 18% did not answer, only 2% said yes. The disparity between findings by MLA on comparative work loads and these findings is obvious. Neither men nor women in American Studies or related departments believes that women carry heavier loads, despite the MLA findings (p.37 above). The near unanimity made this a good test question to use as a control for measuring credibility (see Chapter Four).

DO THEY RECEIVE LOWER SALARIES (PART TIME AND FULL TIME) THAN MEN FOR THE SAME OR SIMILAR SCHEDULES? Of those who answered this question,

51% (20) of the women said yes; only 20% of men said yes;
80% (!!) 73/ of the men said no; 49% of the women said no;
23% of the men and 32% of the women did not answer.

The differences in response are startling. To begin with, information on salaries is seldom known to members of a department other than the chairman, unless a salary review has been completed (few are yet begun). One would expect larger percentages to admit they do not know. But if they really do know, how is it that so large a percentage of men is sure salaries are equal, while a fairly large percentage of women "knows" they are not? Since a larger percentage of men answered the question (rather striking, since large male percentages refrained from answering many others), we can further generalize that more of the men were "sure" --i.e., sure that salaries were not unequal. These findings obviously do not square with the studies on salaries.

ARE THEY PLACED IN JOB CLASSIFICATIONS THAT PAY LESS EVEN THOUGH THEY DO EQUIVALENT WORK?

26% of the women said yes; only 8% of the men agreed (!);
68% of the men said no; 32% of the women said no;
24% of the men and 21.5% of the women did not answer.

Once again, the major difference is between the perception of the sexes of what is the actual case. More of both sexes find this form of discrimination is not practiced, and similar percentages decline to answer, but the gap between men and women's answers is similar to the previous question, if slightly less pronounced: the women are sure, by almost 4 times the percentage, that this discrimination is practiced, while twice as many men as women are just as sure that it is not.

HAS TENURE EVER BEEN GRANTED SOONER TO QUALIFIED MALE APPLICANTS THAN TO QUALIFIED FEMALE APPLICANTS?

30% of the women said yes; only 13% of the men said yes;
54% of the men said no; only 20% of the women said no;
32% of the men and 50% of the women did not answer.

Surely someone who finds the word "ever" in a question will be strongly urged to assume that human error alone would have operated at some time to allow a less qualified male to be selected over a qualified female--or vice versa! This question clearly was "loaded" to achieve its purpose of consciousness-raising. How then assess these replies? Again the women are sure one way, the men the other, and a larger percentage of women admit to not knowing than men.

HAS A LESS QUALIFIED MAN EVER BEEN HIRED OVER A QUALIFIED WOMAN TO FILL A VACANCY FOR WHICH BOTH APPLIED?

15% of the women said yes compared to 9.5% of the men;
16% of the women said no compared to 50% (!) of the men;
41% of the men and 66% of the women did not answer.

The significant figure for women is the 66% who did not answer, while the significant figure for men is the 50% who are sure such discrimination has NEVER taken place. The same bias appears here as on the previous three questions--the men "sure" of their no answers, the women disagreeing, although in this case preferring a NA reply to a yes. Again the word ever appears in the question, and again one wonders whether respondents would likely know enough about candidates who applied for jobs and were not even considered, much less placed in competition with those who became the final choices.

ARE JOB VACANCIES POSTED ON YOUR CAMPUS, OR ARE QUALIFIED WOMEN KEPT FROM HEARING ABOUT THEM IN TIME?

A poorly worded question, requiring respondents to answer one way for the first half and a different way for the second half. Some did so, indicating a policy of posting for the benefit of graduate students or not posting; the women especially seemed aware that failure to inform potential candidates of openings can be a subtle but devastating form of discrimination, one HEW has specifically outlawed. The Percentages on responses are not reliable; a large number of no answers (by men) had to be thrown out, suggesting the respondents did not read the question carefully and were merely continuing their habit of writing in no to deny that yet another form of discrimination existed.

DO YOUR DEPARTMENTAL AND/OR UNIVERSITY PRACTICES WITH REGARD TO TENURE, PROMOTION AND SABBATICAL LEAVE INCLUDE CONSIDERATION FOR PART-TIME TEACHING SO AS TO ENCOURAGE PART-TIME INVOLVEMENT?

Only 10% of the women and 15% of the men said yes.
56% of the men and 37.5% of the women said no.
52% of the women and 28% of the men did not answer.

Once again, the percentage of men that reports no and the percentage of women that do not answer stand out as significant. Is it that more women happen to be ignorant of what their department's policy is, even though more women than men are in the part-time jobs? Or might the men be just as ignorant but inclined to claim they know? The issue of part-time teaching also came up in Postscript II and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Five; a resolution directed at part-time policy is included on the slate in Chapter Six.

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THE "LAUNDRY LIST"

In addition to the forms of discrimination affecting the "stages in the climb" as illustrated most succinctly on the ladders of statistics, there is also a list of issues affected by written or unwritten university policies now in the process of review--what the MLA Survey calls "certain structural features of our colleges and universities" and what I have taken to calling the "laundry list" (all the items need to be cleaned up). Part-time policy is rightly included on the "laundry list," as well as policies on job posting. One section of the questionnaire asked about university policy on four other items--anti-nepotism policy, maternity leave, parental leave and day care centers.

ANTI-NEPOTISM policies are in the process of review across the country. Alice Rossi writes, "No other single topic is the subject of as much concern among graduate students and young faculty women as this question of whether and where a husband and wife can find and keep jobs when their training is in the same general field" (Atlantic, March 1970, p. 102). The findings reported by the University of Florida earlier in this chapter probably reflect the present state of national opinion. That is, there is a difference of opinion over whether all such policies ought to be retained or abolished; be abolished only for husband-and-wife teams; or be retained only for cases where one

relative holds direct supervisory power over another. At Wayne State University, the members of project 6-15, an organization of university women pressing for equality in employment, found ourselves in greater disagreement over this issue than any other; a similar disagreement was mirrored in the ASA questionnaire responses. It was Wayne's bitter experience to find the university's first response to the criticism of its nepotism policy to be a prompt change that merely allowed university administrators to put their relatives on the payroll. The female respondent who answered the question on anti-nepotism with the comment, "Nepotism abounds here--department chairmen's wives, administrators' sons, etc." must have faced the same experience. Project 6-15's recommendation reads:

Wayne - 6/15

"Clarify and publicise the existing university policy on nepotism . . . which enables family members to work in the same university department unless directly supervised by a relative. Specifically allow relatives to work together in the same department as long as they disqualify themselves from participating in decisions regarding the hiring, promotion, etc. of one another."--Project 6-15, RECOMMENDED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM FOR WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, p. 4.

LEAVE POLICIES are also in the process of revision on most campuses, with many universities reporting "liberal" policies for maternity leaves, or simply saying "yes," they have them. Few respondents reported policies for paid maternity leave, but a question about it in Postscript II revealed a large majority of both men and women in favor (65% for, 35% against--total vote). Although the term "maternity leave" is still in wide use, the newer point of view is to distinguish between a leave for the purpose of having a baby (pregnancy leave) and a leave for the purpose of being a mother (maternity) or father (paternity) to the child; the feeling is that fathers should have rights to participate in child-rearing, just as women should not be penalized in their profession for bearing and rearing children.

DAY CARE CENTERS, the final item on the "laundry list," has also elicited much interest and the double principle of freeing mothers to work in their professions and including fathers in the child care process has again been emphasized. Respondents said (1) their universities did not have centers yet, (2) did not need them in cities where centers were already available, (3) had just started or were planning theirs (about 30%), or (4) had them but were working to iron out problems. Few universities reported satisfactorily completed arrangements. One of the six commissioners wrote to urge careful attention by ASA to the resolution involving day care centers: ". . . in talking about day care, /we should/ think about ways to phrase the proposal so that it has revolutionary implications for the way in which children are cared for. Children are people too, and we shouldn't allow the drive to liberate women to lead to a drive to dump children" (Letter from Robert Merideth, July 26, 1971).

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THE HEW-GUIDELINE QUESTIONS.

For the double purpose of informing respondents who were unaware of the dramatic changes being brought to the universities by the HEW investigations and learning from respondents how much change had already been effected, Question #14 was included in the ASA questionnaire, modelled after similar questions used by the MLA. The following responses were reported:

ARE YOU AWARE OF THESE /HEW/ GUIDELINES (ON HIRING, PROMOTION, SALARIES)
44% said yes (46% of the men, 38% of the women);
32% said no (33% of the men, 29% of the women);
24% did not answer (21% of the men, 33% of the women).

The significant factor in these percentages (based on the sample of the first 186 to answer--128 men, 58 women) is the high percentage replying yes to this and an earlier question, asking whether they regarded themselves as well informed on the issues (Question 10E). Many proved to be less knowledgeable than they imagined, as revealed by the rest of the answers in this section. A sizeable percentage of ASA members (especially department chairmen) are indeed acquainted with the guidelines; however, others are just beginning to recognize their implications.

HAS YOUR DEPARTMENT INSTITUTED SPECIAL PROCEDURES FOR RECRUITING AND HIRING WOMEN? IF SO, DESCRIBE PROCEDURES_____.

12% said yes (13% of the men, 9% of the women);
60% said no (61.5% of the men, 56% of the women);
28% did not answer (25.5% of the men, 35% of the women).

DOES YOUR DEPARTMENT HAVE SPECIAL PLANS FOR HIRING WOMEN AT THE RANKS OF ASSOCIATE AND FULL PROFESSOR? IF SO, DESCRIBE_____.

3% said yes (3% of the men, 2% of the women);
65% said no (70% of the men, 55% of the women);
32% did not answer (27% of the men, 43% of the women).

HAS YOUR DEPARTMENT RECENTLY REVIEWED SALARIES WITH RESPECT TO SEX DISCRIMINATION? IF SO, DESCRIBE_____.

16% said yes (21% of the men, 4% of the women);
43+% said no (43% of the men, 45% of the women);
41% did not answer (36% of the men, 51% of the women).

ARE YOU PLANNING TO MAKE CHANGES IN YOUR POLICIES WITH RESPECT TO SALARIES IN ORDER TO INSURE EQUITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN?_____.

8% said yes (9% of the men, 5% of the women);
37% said no (42% of the men, 25% of the women);
55% did not answer (49% of the men, 70% of the women).

1 The striking fact about this series of answers is the size of the no vote, especially among the men, on all four questions--suggesting that the HEW investigations have not yet resulted in significant action at the campus level. Since a pattern of discrimination (rather than individual cases) is all that is necessary to prove the presence of discrimination and put the guidelines into effect, the burden of action for changing unequal ratios is upon the university and the department--the law says they MUST make changes along the lines suggested by the wording of the questions. Yet clearly they have not done so.

2 A key word in the first two questions is the word special. In order to comply with the law, where patterns of inequity exist, special or extraordinary procedures WILL be necessary--for instance, hiring at the rank of associate and full professors, areas from which "women have been excluded in the past." Yet many of the ASA respondents (especially male) recoiled, saying they "do not hire at these ranks." (A nice touch appeared in the five answers that said, "Haven't you heard, we aren't hiring anyone?" But the evasion did not change the issue.)

3 Some universities, apparently, have begun salary reviews--although most have not--and changes in policy would presumably be contingent upon the results of such review, making it plausible that more respondents would fail to answer the last question because they did not know yet (but again more men claim to know than women).

4 A truly comic strain running through the answers to the final two questions involved the 20 men and 3 women who added that salary reviews and/or changes were "unnecessary" because "equity already exists." Two-thirds of these answered no to both questions--but how would they know there was no inequity if they had not yet reviewed salaries?

A comparison between this series of responses and the studies reported earlier in this chapter reveals clearly the considerable distance that must be bridged between what ASA members believe to be true or report to be true and what the studies show about university policies and practices. If we assume that people have a tendency to guess at answers when they do not know for certain, we can explain part of the discrepancy--but how do they guess? Do they put down what they think is true, what they would like to believe is true, or what they want us to believe about their departments and universities? Their emotions may affect their perceptions of fact, but to what extent? The answer will have to wait for a special chapter on the subject, called "What the Thunder Said" (Chapter Four). Meanwhile, it may be that a young graduate student spoke for more than he knew when he added a candid marginal note: "I had a hard time deciding whether to put down what I thought was true or what I thought you wanted to hear."

american studies in particular

"All of the premises of American Studies are male chauvinist. Amer. values, Amer. character, etc. are male values, male character, etc." (12)

"I agree that the focus is on the male, but I think the reasons are historical. Since women were kept to babies, cooking, and washing, this life didn't offer much stuff for fictionists and hero-seekers to work with" (631)

"American Studies is a splendid vehicle through which to study special social problems which are complex, cultural & interdisciplinary, such as the role of women" (643)

"Woman content, HELL! We are person and cultural history conscious--sex is irrelevant! (590)

"American Studies is well suited to the full scope of women's experience in America, historical, social, economic, literary, psychological, etc." (74)

"NO! Why should there be a special program for women? Does a brain have sex? A woman should study whatever she chooses to" (653)

CHAPTER 3

49 ♀

"Yes! If we are studying America and Americans, 51% of the topic is sorely underrepresented! (73)

"(Woman content is necessarily) limited because literary culture has very largely been dominated by males. WHERE ARE THE GREAT AMERICAN WOMEN WRITERS??" (521)

"There was no woman-content in any course I had. Women were only mentioned in relation to New England witchcraft, child rearing and barely to the suffrage movement" (23)

"[Woman content in my American Studies courses?] Mainly off-shoots of Fiedler's good-good and good-bad girls, and Smith's civilizing influence of women--and I think that aspect makes the professors sort of sad." (57)

"I feel 'women's lib' is so important that I think our culture itself at its roots must be changed to make a true (not token) women's lib possible . . ." (524)

"No--it's not an American problem" (531)
"I should hope not--what has this to do with American Studies??" (660)

"In my courses I've been guilty of both sexism and racism, and I feel that texts need thorough revision to get rid of both of these, as the texts have led me into the 'trap.' " (524)

". . . my courses contain little by women but quite a bit about them. Whether this is subconscious sexism or legitimate scholarly choosing of the best material, I honestly don't know." (535)

"Women generally do better [in my American Studies courses] . . . Women seem less tradition bound and more open to a literature-history-philosophy approach which the course (at least some sections) offers, in contrast to many of our male students" vocational orientation." (52[illegible]

"No [difference between my students], they're all human, male, female, black, white etc. All of the human race, with the same smell--as Sandburg says." (528)

"Potter is right, but much of our history is male-dominated. (721)

"Essentially male in orientation, yes. There's a "chicken-egg" quality to the question, though. (717)

The responses in the extended 'dialogue' constructed above, all taken from answers to the ASA questionnaire, give voice to the range of concerns that are involved in relating the subject of women and the women's movement to American Studies.

First, there are concerns about the content of American Studies courses and research: Do we teach and study interpretations of American culture that are heavily male-oriented? Do we fail to teach about women, and do we fail to use books written by women? Are women taught only as "problems" in social science and history courses, along with racial minorities? What is the 'woman-content' of conventional courses in the American Studies curriculum, and what new courses are being designed? Which is the more important emphasis, to integrate existing courses or design new courses in women's studies?

A second kind of concern is whether American Studies as a curriculum is in some way especially well-suited to women, either as students or as subjects for study. Is there any defensible rationale for regarding American Studies as "a good major for women," as it is thought to be at some colleges, or as a poor field for women to enter, as other colleges assume? Is it pertinent to study American culture, values, ideas, history, in terms of the American woman--or in terms of sex roles in American society, or the American family, or masculine vs. feminine perspectives?

Finally, there is interest in knowing whether the sexism that HEW is finding in the universities, discussed in the previous chapter, is any greater or less in American Studies as a profession than in other fields. Is it possible to construct a ladder of percentages to demonstrate how much change will be necessary in American Studies to achieve the principle of proportionate representation?

These are among the questions asked of ASA members on the questionnaire. They elicited a very wide range of answers.

WOMEN IN AMERICAN STUDIES: 88 UNIVERSITIES REPORT

Any effort to inquire into the status of women in American Studies as a profession--to take up this aspect of the subject first--runs into immediate difficulty, for two reasons. For one thing, American Studies is too new a program on many campuses to allow significant measurements using the usual criteria. For another, the interdisciplinary character of American Studies runs counter to traditional orientation. Most teachers of American Studies courses, and even directors of AS programs and departments, are still hired by other departments--English or history primarily--and then "loaned" to American Studies. Part-time teaching, an alternative which might be preferred by those who wish to teach American Studies alone, is still rewarded by low prestige and low pay; it is generally regarded as "slave labor"--as one respondent put it. Getting percentages on American Studies as such will therefore be difficult.

The membership of the American Studies Association is split into three roughly equal groups: (1) those who may be called the "American Studies people" (who have PhD's in AS, teach in AS departments, or identify primarily with AS in their research or work); (2) the "American Literature people" (who teach in English departments, and who tend to think primarily in terms of literature--writers, character, criticism, etc.); and (3) the "third-category people," primarily from American history and the social sciences (who do not think

primarily in terms of fiction and aesthetics, but rather in terms of historical events, social problems, or cultural norms). Questionnaire responses came from all three of the ASA groups, the respondents from the last two categories often adapting the questions in imaginative ways to suit English departments, History departments, or the other areas with which they are most familiar.

Despite the special problems, however, a great deal of information to contribute toward the profile of the profession can be interpolated from a variety of sources. To begin with, one can survey the numbers and percentages of women who are majoring in American Studies or attending American Studies classes on the individual campuses, from small colleges through large colleges, in undergraduate and graduate programs, on campuses where American Studies is a department as compared to campuses where it is a program.

A total of 192 universities (and four other institutions) were represented in the data analyzed in the total report, for all parts of the questionnaire. Of these, 121 respondents representing 88 colleges and universities gave us statistics on the number and percentage of women among student majors and/or classes. These are charted on Table #1 below. The first column reports percentages of women among majors--either majors graduated to date (td) or majors during the year 1971 (71), or a combination of those graduated to date and those who are majors in 1971 (cb, for combination). The second column reports percentages of women attending American Studies classes, both graduate and undergraduate, according to the reports submitted. (For instance, if there were four classes that reported in, with one reporting 20% women, another 70%, and the other two 40%, the column will give the upper and lower figures in the range--4cl=20-70%--but if actual numbers were reported for all four, these totals will be added to give a single percentage--4cl=55%.)

TABLE #1. PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN AS MAJORS OR IN CLASSES OF 88 UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

td=to date
71=in the year 1971, as of June 1971
cb=combination of td & 71
nr=not reported
cl=classes
wc=women's college
mc=men's college

COLLEGE	MAJORS	CLASSES
American Univ.	td23%	6cl=50%
Arkansas Tech.	nr	gen=33%
Ashland Coll.	nr	2cl=50%
Augsburg Coll.	cb45%	3cl=33-100%
Bowling Green	71=50%	4cl=50-85%
Brandywine Coll.	nr	1cl=40%
Bronx C.C.	nr	1cl=50%
Brooklyn Coll.	nr	2cl=42%
Brown Univ.	71=33%	3cl=33-60%
Bryn Mawr	100%wc	100%wc
Butler Univ.	--starts this yr--	
Cal. St. Coll.-Fullerton	cb=60%	2cl=60-70%
Cal St. Coll.LA	nr	2cl=63%
Cal, Univ.Davis	cb=55%	2cl=55%
Cal, Univ. South L.A.	71=50%	1cl=15%
Case. West. Res.	cb=41%	8cl=40%
Chicago, Univ.	nr	3cl=82%
Colby Coll.	71=50%	nr
Colorado, Univ.	td=50%	2cl=54%
Connec. Coll.		
Daytona Bch.CC	nr	6cl=25%
Dickinson Coll.	71=60%	nr
Eisenhower Coll.	nr	1cl=40%
Elmira Coll.	nr	=90%
Emory Univ.	nr	3cl=45-65%
Evergreen Coll.	nr	2cl=35%
Federal Cty Coll	nr	1cl=55%
Finch	100%wc	100%wc
Florida, Univ.	nr	3cl=50%
Florida, U., S.	cb=38%	3cl=43-65%
Georgetown U.	cb=0%	3cl=10%
George Wash. U.	nr	4cl=0-75%
Hartford, Univ.	nr	3cl=12-75%
Heidelberg	cb=70%	=70%
Hollins Coll.	100%wc	100%wc

TABLE #1--Continued

COLLEGE	MAJORS	CLASSES
Idaho St.Univ.	cb=25%	nr
Indiana Cent.	nr	1cl=25%
Indiana Univ.	cb=18%	3cl=20%
Iowa State Univ.	nr	2cl=40-50%
Johns Hopkins	0%mc	3cl=0%
Kansas, Univ.	nr	1cl=15%
Kearney St.Coll	nr	2cl=50%
KingsboroughCC	nr	1cl=30%
Kirkland Coll.	nr	3cl=60%
Lafayette Col.	0%mc	0%mc
Lawrence U.	cb=80%	nr
Lehigh Univ.	0%mc	2cl=0%
Lenoir Rhyne C.	nr	1cl=55%
Lynchburg Coll.	71=50%	3cl=40-75%
Madiera Sc.	nr	2cl-50%
Maine, Univ.	td=50%	nr
Mankato St.	td=60%	3cl=50%
Maryland, Univ.	td=43%	3cl=60%
Memphis St. U.	nr	1cl=56%
Mich. St. Univ.	nr	2cl=53-68%
Mich., Univ.	nr	3cl=50%
Minn., Univ.	td=16%	4cl=33-70%
New Mexico, U.	cb=28%	3cl=15-50%
New York Univ.	cb=45%	1cl=50%
Notre Dame	nr	3cl=50%
Oberlin	nr	3cl=45%
Occidental	cb=50%	4cl=50%
OhioDominican	nr	4cl=36%
Ohio Univ.	nr	3cl=48%
Okla. St. Univ.	nr	1cl=77%
Our Lady of Lk.	nr	1cl=50%

COLLEGE	MAJORS	CLASSES
Penn. St.	nr	2cl=33-45%
Penn., Univ.	cb=50%	6cl=30-60%
Princeton	nr	2cl=50%
Purdue	nr	3cl=50-60%
Rider Coll.	td=50%	3cl=62%
Richmond Univ.	nr	3cl=50%
Roger Wms. Col.	71=13%	3cl=14%
Rosary Coll.	100%wc	100%wc
St. Cloud St.U.	cb=0%	=30%
St. Marys Winona	nr	3cl=3%
San Fran St.	nr	3cl=50%
Seton Hall Univ.	nr	2cl=33%
S. Dakota St. U.	nr	1cl=50%
SW at Memphis	cb=0%	3cl=50%
Springfield Coll.	td=25%	3cl=48%
Stanford	cb=33%	2cl=47%
SUNY, Albany	71=52%	2cl=50%
SUNY, Buffalo	cb=28%	4cl=40-94%
SUNY, Oswego	cb=55%	1cl=80%
Stephens Coll.	100%	100%
Stetson Univ.	td=28%	3cl=50%
Syracuse	71=46%	1cl=40%
Texas Christian	cb=33%	nr
Toledo	0%mc	0%mc
Union Coll.	71=7%	nr
Wash. St. Univ.	nr	=40%
Wash. Univ.	nr	=50%
Wayne State U.	td=55%	9cl=50%
Wesleyan Univ.	td=22%	2cl=25%
Wisconsin Univ.	nr	4cl=25%
Yale	nr	2cl=25%

* *

If we were to extract numbers and percentages of women from any nine of these universities--or rather, from nine with programs that would be considered fairly "strong" in terms of numbers attending classes or numbers of majors, graduate and undergraduate, and/or number of American Studies courses offered--other tables might be made up to show the American Studies profile on a smaller scale. For the choices in Table #2 (see top of next page), the first four came from the beginning of the alphabet, the next five from the middle--partly because a glance made it quickly apparent that the broad range of representation desired could be obtained with these choices. With what overall result, compared to Table #1? In Table #1, women are 46.4% of the 199 classes reported from 80 universities (excluding the 4 women's colleges and 4 men's colleges), and 41.6% of all majors. In Table #2, women are 41% of the undergraduates and 46% of the graduates for the schools and years that happened to be included in the sample. In other words, the figures are very similar--with this exception: we do not have total numbers of women for as many schools as we have percentages, but from the numbers we do have, it is apparent that the percentages go up in schools with larger classes, which means total female enrollment in all classes across the nation would be well over 50%--close to 60% based on the figures that were provided.

TABLE #2: PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN IN MAJORS AND CLASSES OF NINE UNIVERSITIES WITH VIGOROUS AS PROGRAMS

American University	und:46% of 55 majors (td)	6cl=50%
Bowling Green	und:50% of 60 (td)	4cl=50-85%
Case Western Reserve	und:33% of 25 (71)	5cl=50%
	gra:55% of 36 (71)	
Calif. St. Fullerton	und:55% of 205 (td)	2cl=60%
Minnesota	und:50% of 250 (?) (td)	
	und: 7% of 150 (71)	3cl=33-50% (71und)
	MA: 11% of 175 (td)	
	PhD:20% of 250 (td)	
Maryland	und:60% of 120 (td)	3cl=60%
	gra:41% of 72 (td)	
Pennsylvania	und:50% of 120	3cl=50%, G=60%
Springfield	und:25% of 75 (td)	3cl=48%
Stetson	und:25% of 54 (71)	3cl=50%
	30% of 660 (td)	

If we next separate out sixteen universities with graduate programs and take averages of women who are graduates or graduate majors in American Studies, the following profile emerges:

TABLE #3: PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN IN 16 GRADUATE PROGRAMS REPORTING

Bowling Green	50% of ?, all grads td	4cl=50%
Brown	34% of 50 (71)	3cl=33-60%
	33% of td	
Case Western Reserve	55% of 36 (71)	5cl=50%
Calif., Univ. S.	50% of 25 (71) & of 75 (td)	1cl=15%
Emory	---failed to report majors---	3cl=45-85%
Geo. Wash. Univ.	---failed to report majors---	2cl=75%
Indiana	15% of 60(71) & 25% of 20 (td)	3cl=20%
Maryland-Balt. C.	MA:50% of 48 (td)	3cl=60%
	PhD:15-20% of 24 (td)	
Michigan Univ.	PhD: 50% of 12 (?)	
Minnesota Univ.	MA:36% of 280 (td)	3cl=46%
	PhD: 11% of 137 (td)	4cl=32%
New York Univ.	MA:50% of ?	
	PhD:40% of ?	1cl=50%
New Mexico, Univ.	28% of 36 (td)	3cl=15-50%
Pennsylvania	---failed to report majors---	3cl=50%
Stetson Univ.	30% of 60 (td)	3cl=50%
SUNY Buffalo	19% of 47 (71+td)	4cl=40-98%/sic/
Yale	---failed to report majors---	2cl=25%

Finally, if we were to choose a single university as a case study, one with both a large program and a graduate program (MA and PhD), the nod would have to go to the University of Minnesota, the university which can in any case claim to be the birthplace of the American Studies movement in the United

States. Eight respondents--students, teachers, and the program chairman--reported figures on classes and/or majors. American Studies at Minnesota is a program rather than a department; it has been established since 1942, during which time it has had three directors, two men and one woman. About thirty-four classes per year are offered in American Studies under fourteen or more faculty members, all part-time, all of whom still teach in other departments. The director of the program today is a woman, Mary C. Turpie. She too is a member of another department, the English department, in which she is the only woman who is a full professor. With the conspicuous exception of Dr. Turpie, the pattern of responses to Question #13, asking whether most administrators, chairmen, full and associate professors, etc. were male, is very similar at Minnesota to the composite pattern described in Chapter Two. It will be noted that the percentages of women in both master's and doctoral programs has increased markedly as reflected in the numbers attending recent seminars compared to percentages among graduates since 1942.

Minnesota

TABLE #4: THE MINNESOTA STORY

LEVEL/RANK	TOTALS, MEN & WOMEN	% WOMEN	%IN CLASSES
Undergraduates	ave. 150-180 majors per year	ca.50%	2cl:30-60%
Graduates	180 in 1971		
MA	ca.280 to date (since 1942)	36%	46%recent[a]
PhD	137 to date (since 1942)	11%	32%recent[b]
Faculty	14+ part-time AS, all from other departments		
English Dept:			
full prof	18	5.6%(=one)	
assoc prof	11	18.2%(=two)	
asst prof		none	
instructor	6	16.7%(=one)	
teaching associates		50% of "many"	

a=in recent MA seminars: 10 of 15 + 12 of 25 + 8 of 25=30 of 60=46%
b=in recent PhD seminars: 5 of 7, 4 of 8, 8 of 25, 7 of 23=24 of 75=32%

Although there are some wide differences in the size and nature of the American Studies programs and classes represented by the universities included in our survey, some very clear patterns emerged from the data they have given us to date.

Before turning to a composite portrait to describe these patterns, we should call attention to three factors affecting the reported percentages. (1) The percentages for class attendance are conservative since we counted percentages for separate classes rather than for the total population of the classes. Had we estimated the latter, it would be found ON THE BASIS OF NUMBERS REPORTED (some universities gave only percentages, not numbers) that women comprise between 55% to 63% of the total population in attendance. Why the disparity? If a seminar with 3 women out of 10 members gets one vote, and a sophomore survey course with 60 women out of 100 gets one vote (both cases are typical), they average out to 45% women in the two classes but 56.4% women in the total population involved--a clear majority. (2) The four women's colleges and four men's colleges that reported neatly cancelled out each others figures on attendance and majors, but it could be argued that since these women will be in the labor force they ought to be counted in--if so, the result would also raise the overall percentage of women in the AS constituency, since AS classes and majors in the women's colleges are larger than in the men's colleges. Several colleges recently turned coed after being women's or men's colleges also reported; what was startlingly significant about the entire group of single-sex or recently-changed colleges is

that men dominated the administrations and higher ranks of the faculties in both. In fact, except for two Catholic women's colleges (or recently-women's colleges), they dominated even the numbers on the faculties. Only a few, if any, women are on the faculties of men's or recently-men's colleges, while a great many men--often a majority, always among the top administrators--are to be found, by contrast, in the women's or recently-women's colleges.
(3) The figure on PhD's in American Studies is based on reports from the following universities only (others having failed to report their PhD's): Brown, Case Western Reserve, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York University.

Composite Portrait--The American Studies Story

American Studies programs across the country are growing in size, in terms of numbers of programs, majors, classes, and total attendance;

The numbers and percentages of women in these programs is also growing (in about three-fourths of the universities in the report);

Women are:

46.4% of all reported American Studies classes at 88 universities;
45% of the AS classes at 16 universities with graduate programs;
49% of the AS classes at nine universities with "vigorous" programs;

And women are:

41.6% of all reported American Studies majors;
30.45% of the reported graduate majors (MA & PhD);
24% of the reported graduate majors specified as PhD;

But women are:

5% of the directors or chairmen of AS at universities with programs
0% of the chairmen of AS at universities with AS departments;

From other sources, we may add to this composite portrait some additional percentages, to be discussed later. We learn that women are:

19% of those seeking jobs through the ASA placement service in 1970-71;

18.5% of the membership of the American Studies Association, 1970; but

10% of the membership of the ASA national Council, 1971,
3.5% of the Council (one woman) from 1968-May 1971;
0.0% of the Council prior to that, as far back as our record extends.

6% of the chapter presidents as of June 1971 and 12% of the secretary-treasurers of chapters at this same date;

5.4% of the authors listed in American Quarterly from 1960-71;
2.56% of the authors in AQ for the five years 1960-1965;
11.5% of the authors in AQ for the period 1970-May 1971;

0.0% of the American Quarterly editorial board as of May 1971;
0.0% of the AQ editorial board for as far back as our records extend;

5.7% of the American Studies awards announced in 1968 through 1971:
6.46% of the 93 Fulbrights awarded during this period;
0.0% of the 18 Guggenheims awarded during this period.

0.0% of all nominees considered for director of Natl. Amer. St. Faculty

0.0% of the ASA Executive Secretaries in American Studies history.

0.0% of the ASA National Presidents in American Studies history.

While larger samplings might improve these percentages, and although the total report is marred by the failure of some department chairmen from universities with major PhD programs to send in their reports, there is certainly sufficient evidence in the figures provided by 88 universities and based on samplings for the given years to suggest the areas of delinquency in American Studies. Women are about half of all students attending American Studies classes; they are almost half of all our majors in the country. They are about one third of our graduate students--almost one half in universities with strong programs alone. If this is the tuition-paying citizenry, how well are women represented on the faculty, on the councils and boards, and among award recipients in the profession?

Here the record leaves much to be improved. Women are about 20% of the ASA membership--one member in every five--yet no woman, so far as we have been able to determine, was a member of the ASA Council until my own election in 1968, and I was the sole member until just this spring, when Lois Rudnick and Mary Land became the second and third women Council members in American Studies history, out of the present total of 35 seats. No woman has ever served as national president, executive secretary, editor of the quarterly, or even as a member of the editorial board! Greater democracy has prevailed on the regional level, closer to the grass roots. During the years when women's names were missing from national offices, there were always one or two women serving as chapter presidents or secretary-treasurers:

ca. 7.2% of the secretary-treasurers from 1960 to the present,
ca. 10.3% of the chapter presidents from 1964 to the present.

It is interesting, too, that while there are indeed a few of us who have headed programs in American Studies at the campus level (Mary Turpie, Alma Payne, myself, and three whose names I do not have; I would be hard put to say which fact was mentioned oftener by former students, Mary Turpie's chairmanship at Minnesota or the absence of women at Yale and Pennsylvania), yet not a single woman reporting or mentioned by others has ever headed a department of American Studies.

On the matter of grants--awards and fellowships announced in the most recent issues of AMERICAN STUDIES: AN INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER specifically as American Studies grants--there is again little reason for complacency. The statistics reported for the past three years are as follows:

TABLE #6: NUMBER OF WOMEN RECEIVING AMERICAN STUDIES GRANTS, 1968-71

Name of Grant	Year	Total # in AS Given	# to Women
Fulbright-Hays	1968-69	21	1
Fulbright-Hays	1969-70	8	1
Fulbright-Hays	1970-71	46	3
Fulbright-Hays	1971-72	28	1
ACLS Grants in Aid	1970-71	9	1
Chas Warren Center Fellowships	1969-70	10	0
Guggenheim Awards	1969-70	18	0
Total		140	8

Figures reported to us by Josephine Ober of the ASA Placement Service show the percentage of women job-seekers without PhD's to be larger than the percentage with PhD's and the percentage of women among American Literature and "third category" applicants to be larger than applicants with degrees in American Studies as such. Women are:

23.3% of non-PhD's seeking jobs; 11.8% of PhD's seeking jobs;
16.0% of (1)AS majors seeking jobs; 20.4% of (2) American Literature majors seeking jobs; and 20.0% of (3) all other categories seeking jobs.

The total percentage of women registered with the placement service, 19%, is close to the total percentage of the ASA membership, 18.45%. But these constituencies have not been represented on ASA Council by equivalent percentages, nor are they so represented now, even with the tripling of women on the Council during the past year.

Among authors selected for publication in the American Quarterly, the dramatic change is the increase in the number of women published during the past two years. There have also been three articles on topics directly bearing on women's history during the past year and a half. But again, these are slow and token changes against an overall poor record of representation of women in AQ. To tell the full story, of course, we would have to have figures on the number of manuscripts received and rejected, the number of women who read manuscripts to make decisions, and some sort of information on whether the "John T. McKay-Joan T. McKay distinctions" (see the next chapter) have had their effects upon readers of these articles. Needless to say, this kind of information is not easy to obtain.

There is much more we need to know. We must have the percentages of women on faculties who may be described as "being in American Studies," which means finding ways to define what that means, if we wish to know whom to count. Then we must know the rank and salaries and years of tenure of these women as compared to men. Where the disparities are, there is evidence of pattern discrimination of the kind acceptable to HEW as proof of non-compliance with the law. To obtain this information, an American Studies program survey is in progress, the questionnaire to department chairmen scheduled to be sent in the fall of 1971; the survey is to include a section asking for information on women in the departments. Undoubtedly a more thorough questioning of the women in ASA themselves is called for in order that this information will be available to the ASA Commission on Women in the future.

Given the figures we have to date, however, there seems little justification for the opinion expressed on the questionnaire that the problem of discrimination was not as bad, non-existent, or minor-to-moderate in American Studies as compared to universities and society generally, for this was, in fact, the opinion offered by a full 50% of the sample.

HOW GREAT COMPARATIVELY IS THE PROBLEM OF DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICAN STUDIES? (Question #10b)

14.2% of the sample (23 of 162) said none in American Studies;

18% (29 of 162) said not as bad in American Studies, including many who felt the problem of discrimination was very great;

11% only said the problem was equally great as in the society generally, fairly great, or major;

Exactly two persons in the sample (1 male,1 female) said the problem was worse;

38.3% (62 of 162) gave no answer or said they did not know.

Again, more needs to be known before we can be sure which of these groups of respondents has guessed correctly. Studies within traditional disciplines must be followed by studies comparing results between disciplines; American Studies must be compared to American literature, to American history, and to other "constituent" fields. Meanwhile, a crude but educated guess based on the evidence we have to date is that discrimination in American Studies is probably not as bad as in departments of history, which are notoriously sexist, but worse than it is in departments of English, as reported by the MLA Commission on Women. Certainly it is no better than the MLA statistics show English departments to be; like them, our figures show women to be about half

of the students in the American Studies program yet a distinct minority on faculties, in the senior ranks of departments, and as recipients of professional recognition.

How then to explain the optimism of the 50% who do not think the problem is as bad in American Studies as elsewhere? Only a few attempted to support their impressions with evidence. Some said they thought American Studies more open to the new, the fresh, the challenge of change; some cited the response to the Radical Caucus as a "civil" one, and one mentioned the fact that two of the student candidates for whom members could vote in the 1971 election were women. To my delight, several mentioned seeing my own name often and Mary Turpie's, one woman nominating us as "role models" for the profession. One minor confrontation occured that is germane to the argument over methodology. One respondent argued that immediate efforts to get "symbolic" representation of women should be the first priority for the ASA Commission on Women, since the presence of even a few women in high office is enough to encourage the many; one of the persons who felt conditions were "worse" in American Studies argued, however, that "the high visibility" of a few token women is no substitute for "fairness across the board" toward the majority--and indeed may be, as tokenism often is, a "smoke screen to hide how bad things really are."

ILL SUITED OR WELL SUITED?

The double-punishment aspect of prejudice, whether directed against Jews or blacks or women, or anyone else, is aptly expressed in the colloquialism, "You're damned if you do and damned if you don't." Something of the same sense of discouragement underlies one group of answers to the question asked on the questionnaire, "Have you ever thought of American Studies as especially well-suited or ill-suited to women?"

It should be noted first of all that the majority of both men and women (63%) answered this question with a simple no or neither, explaining that they had never thought of American Studies as being sex-typed, that there was no difference in its appeal to men or women, that it was no more ill-suited or well-suited than any other intellectual discipline ("Does a brain have sex?") Some implied that the question was loaded for the purposes of identifying anti-feminism, and feeling this, responded in various ways: "No, that would be sexist bigotry" (667); "No, women are just people" (702); "About as well suited as any humanities major" (578); "What nonsense! Do you really think people will fall for a question like this?" (696); "I have of course heard this--[that it is] well suited 'because it's useless' and other sexist and elitist based attitudes" (546).

Others who were less touchy or more reflective, however, did see a point to the question. One man put his answer this way: "Well suited if it truly permits student to define her concentration and if it leads to jobs and fare . . . on equal basis with men. As ill suited as rest of the University for women, if not" (565). As we have seen from the reports in Chapter One, American Studies has not led to jobs "on an equal basis with men." Women have reported being discouraged from entering the field because of the job market.

> I was encouraged strongly not to go into AS because it wasn't a safe field--too few jobs for anyone, they said, never mind for women! Two faculty advisors gave in under my insistence that AS was what I wanted, but a third refused to write a recommendation.
>
> I feel like a double oddity--because I'm a woman and because I'm in American Studies.

Serious about their professional aims in a system that refuses to take them seriously, such persons feel it is hard enough to be a woman in a man's professional world without taking on the added burden of the bias against American Studies! One should not be surprised then, if many women find it prudent to settle for traditional disciplines instead; from this perspective, American Studies seems ill-suited to all but the more tough-minded among women.

On the other hand, American Studies can seem to be a good choice of field for women precisely because women can avoid the difficulty of finding a college-level job with such a major--or at least that is what many of the women's advisors believe, even though not one woman herself reported entering American Studies for this reason. There are several levels to the argument on this side of the debate. First, there are those who assume women will hold lower-prestige jobs than men--*e.g.*, as elementary and high school teachers rather than college teachers. If they also regard American Studies itself with a certain contempt as compared to traditional disciplines, such persons may well be willing to consign the "lesser" field to women. Or they may, on the other hand, see in American Studies a way out for both men and women who want to teach in elementary and high school programs, since it provides a better general education for those preparing to teach American values and ideas to children and youth than the traditional disciplines have heretofore provided.

Second, there are those who assume women may not work at all, and this group too is divided. Some assume women can afford to luxuriate in a "useless" liberal arts education since they are not likely to teach, write, or compete in the job market anyway. Others see women today in the academic vanguard, challenging the presumptions underlying our entire university structure and they tend to praise the "freedom" of women to express their views by entering such programs as American Studies. Third, there are those who see the natural alliance between American Studies and women's studies as making for greater suitability to women today who are interested in the subject. All three groups answered yes, that American Studies was well-suited to women; a representative list of their reasons might include the following:

> Women here often prefer the less difficult AS program to the more difficult and much narrower traditional majors (*e.g.*, English, History)" (521)
>
> Elementary teachers major in AS here, a liberal arts 'solid' curriculum (527)
>
> I believe it is a popular program for women, but the impact of the military draft on male enrollment makes this hard to judge. Possibly the image AS has as a good MA degree for secondary school teachers here (a stereotypical "goal" for women) may be a factor. (531)
>
> . . . In relation to their career goals (school teacher, nurse, legal secretary, etc.) the course seems more relevant . . .Women seem less tradition bound and more open to a literature-history-philosophy approach . . . in contrast to many of our male students' vocational orientation. (586)
>
> Women are not under such stringent social pressure to do "established" things like identifying themselves with a department or an "established discipline," in which they can hold a secure social identity and manage to lay a basis for a paying career. Women seem freer to pursue their curiosity, to follow up on things they simply become interested in, to run the risk of not having the "right" credentials to present to some conjured-up future employer. They are socially freer to pursue the mystery of their culture's past and present without being under the gun to eke out so many hours of this or that to produce a course program that pleases others just because of its having so many courses in this or that department. (736)

If vocational possibilities are limited, a good education is, ironically, possible. American Studies provides that. (554)

A general, non-professional, liberal arts major emphasizing aesthetic experience (Oh, what prejudice!) (689)

So far, the respondents quoted have been male, from the 26% of the male sample that replied yes, that American Studies is well-suited to women. Whether the reader finds their explanations insulting put-downs, long-winded rationalizations, or pat statements of fact, they are all based on similar presumptions: that women will hold lesser jobs or no jobs. Some of the same presumptions prevail as we continue the list to include responses of women (12% of whom said yes) as well:

Good liberal arts background to make women better people, prepared to enjoy and participate in activities in their field of interest for the rest of their lives. (39)

American Studies can be adapted to community activities as well as professional life. (47)

[Women have a superior] ability to perceive interrelationships. (49) [?!]

Well suited to full scope of women's experience in America: historical, social, economic, literary, psychological, etc. (74)

Well suited because at UM, it has long attracted part-time/extended degree seekers (like myself), many of whom are women--for obvious reasons. (53)

Openness to new/experimental topics and approaches (663)

Flexibility of schedules, can work at a number of locations in town, not confined to having to go to campus, faculty not uptight about deadlines. (548)

Women especially likely to opt for interdisciplinary studies, particularly that involving literature and philosophy (638)

Because of increased interest in role of women in history and in women's lib. (681)

A splendid vehicle through which to study social problems . . . such as the role of women. (643)

Well-suited when seminar topic is feminism (640)

Several of my women students are able to use AS as a base for taking women's studies kinds of courses . . . (645)

Designed intelligently, an AS curriculum could be especially well suited to the needs of women in their effort to determine their past, present and future in American society (639)

Lastly, a special place must be made for the answers given by one man and one woman whose vision was unique. To the man, American Studies offered women GOOD rather than poor job possibilities:

Employment opportunities good in historical museum work, publishing, government, library science, research or teaching (last) (683)

That teaching in the profession at the college level should be last on the list may not be much solace to the women with PhD's in the field. The woman whose reason I have saved for last saw American Studies as a haven to escape from the sexism practiced in universities:

> Because this is a program with a very wide selection of courses in many departments, women can avoid much overt hostility by selecting departments and professors carefully. (67)

All of which demonstrates in one small way, I should think, that American Studies is many things to many people in the different universities across the nation.

AMERICAN STUDIES AND 'WOMEN'S LIB'

In Part II of this volume, readers will find the slate of courses in women's studies offered at SUNY-Buffalo, supported and described in the literature put out by the Buffalo chapter of the Women's Liberation Movement. All of these courses, including one on non-American cultures, are offered under the auspices of SUNY's American Studies program. This slate of courses explains as well why the female attendance of Buffalo's American Studies classes, reported on Table #1 of this chapter, has increased so markedly, while so few majors in the past have been women. (The Buffalo correspondent reports a deliberate decision to award 5 out of 7 openings on the graduate program to women in order to begin equalization.) Clearly, at Buffalo, the interests of women's liberation and the interests of American Studies this season are identical.

At the other extreme are those who answered the question on the questionnaire, "HAVE YOU BEEN AWARE OF ANY SPECIAL PERTINENCE OF THE MOVEMENT TO AMERICAN STUDIES?," with thundering NO answers: "No, it's not an American problem" (531); "What has this to do with American Studies?" (660); "I should hope not, unless real discrimination be introduced"; "No, other than the fact that it is a recurring American problem and highly charged at present" (3).

Between these two extremes falls the opinion of the majority as to the relationship between American Studies and 'women's lib'--almost exactly divided, in fact, between those who do see "special pertinence" (102 did--75 men, 27 women) and those who do not (103 did not--78 men, 25 women; the remainder not answering). Whether these percentages would have changed had the question immediately prior to this one, asking for a general reaction to "women's lib" not aroused the emotions of a number of respondents (a subject to be discussed in the next chapter), or had a different term but "women's lib" been used (one respondent felt a professional association like ASA should have written out the word liberation and not have used quotation marks) is hard to say.

Of greater interest is the range of suggestions to support the yes answers to the question. (Few of those who said no supplied their reasons: one can assume that most of them, like the man who gave the answer "Not until now" (567), were simply reporting no to their lack of awareness). Sometimes the clipped and self-assured mood of response mirrored a kind of impatience one sometimes finds these days in women's studies generally:

> Certainly as an extension of basic rights to self-realization, it is of more than passing interest! (586)

> Yes, if we are studying America and Americans, 51% of the topic is sorely underrepresented. (73)

Cultural norms and relation to arts, lit, pol, EVERYTHING. (633)

Close to--at the heart of--culture study. (571)

Yup, we oughta be more flexible (572)

Obviously. (636)

American Studies, as usual, has lagged behind in this area (12)

It could be much more pertinent than it has been (74)

Women's lib is as much a part of our culture as anything. (640)

Yes, in the sense that it has and is making an impact on American culture (686)

Of course! A latter-day manifestation of Margaret Fuller. (709)

There were also more thoughtful moods, however, and accounts of personal discovery of the relationship:

I feel women's lib is so important that I think our culture itself at the roots must be changed . . . and I believe we must work for such "radical" change. (524)

YES--research I am doing in 19th century America confirms the special pertinence (61)

American movements reflect deep-seated changes in American attitudes. These movements are symptioms. (533)

Yes, because of our holistic interests (548)

Yes, in terms of democratic ideals. (644)

Yes, in lessening the use of stereotypes of women across the board. (15)

Yes, /pertinent to/ getting courses on women made "scholarly" (72)

I suppose scholastically we should do more to emphasize the role of women in American culture. (536)

It is pertinent to every area of study, not particularly to AS except for the study of the movement. (29)

American Studies as a curriculum offers most potential for exploring the role of women, if allowed to. (31)

The study of the role of women and the nature of culturally defined sex roles, as well as the fight to end the latter, are very much a part of American Studies. (546)

Program directors who have struggled already with the question of whether Black Studies or Urban Studies has "special pertinence" to American Studies may recognize above some of the problems in point of view when two programs are in competition with one another, eyeing one another to see who will be master--with a question in mind as to whether the union will be a profit or loss to either partner. Neither wishes to be limited to the other or to carry the blame for the other's weaknesses, yet there is no denying a natural affinity between the two at the present moment in history.

NEW COURSES VERSUS EXISTING COURSES

One of the strongest impressions to emerge from the responses to the questionnaire, in fact, was the clear expression of interest in the American woman as a subject for study, both in new courses and existing courses. Not only feminists and radicals but teachers of all shades of opinion--even the "thunderers" to be introduced in the next chapter--reported with scarcely concealed enthusiasm and pride the changes their schools were planning: revision of established American Studies courses, creation of new approaches, the search for texts and teachers, the exploration of parallels and themes relating American women to American Studies.

The course outlines, bibliographies, and commentaries selected for Part II of this volume reflect this new enthusiasm and illustrate some of the many interdisciplinary approaches that can be taken. My hope is that this small collection will help reveal to the uninitiated, as did the Female Studies collections put out by the MLA Commission on Women earlier, how much more depth, breadth, and diversity there is to the subject than they may have supposed. There are different political points of view represented among these outlines, and they range in character from conservative to radical, thorough to sketchy, boring to lively, general to almost too specific. My assumption is that there is good health to American Studies and American society in demonstrating such variety, just as there is good health in the disagreement Bob Merideth reports having had with his students over how to teach his own course on women in American culture (Part II, #1).

Earlier I mentioned the debates over Black Studies and Urban Studies as providing Women's Studies with a precedent for determining what its relationship to American Studies, as to universities generally, might be. Those in American Studies with experience in the issues involved in the debates will recognize a familiar configuration of viewpoints in the women's movement. A central question is whether women and "woman-content" should be part and parcel of existing courses (and whether women should work through existing organizations to achieve their rights and the power to see them protected) or whether they should be consigned to separate courses so that they will receive the attention, expertise, and sympathy that they deserve (and consigned, mutatis mutandi, to separate organizations where they can join with their sisters for increased power, or to separate sections on women at national conventions, or to separate women's caucuses). One woman active in the MLA women's groups writes:

> I think if all women gain in ASA is a 'ghetto' section while the men continue to run things and conduct and spout all the "significant" research, no actual reform has taken place. I fear this is happening in MLA . . . (12)

The concern over separatism vs. integration affects the American Studies curriculum as well as the American Studies "profession." And a case can be made for both sides of the argument.

Just as there are those who argue that Afro-American history and culture should be studied as part of American history and culture rather than consigned to the special academic "ghetto" of Black Studies; just as there are others who, following Lewis Mumford; insist that one should not study the city apart from its context in region and Nature; so there are those in the women's movement who feel one should not attempt to study half of the human race apart from the other half--especially since the two are in much more intimate relation with one another than blacks are to whites or the city is to the country. Others reply that so long as the dominant attitudes in our academies are sexist and anti-feminist (which may be compared to racist and anti-city attitudes for the analogue), if we wait for a response from existing institutions and existing courses that is to be adequate to the need, we will wait forever.

The idea of adopting "the American woman" as a theme or perspective or experience to study is a "natural" for American Studies courses--both a challenge and an opportunity.

There is also a counterpart in the women's movement to the "redeemer" philosophy advanced by some circles in Black Studies, except that now it is the woman with her greater capacity for love, rather than the Black American, who is to redeem America from itself--i.e., its male chauvinist orientation to violence, aggressiveness, and frontier values. Accordingly, the women's studies movement will no doubt be seen as a way to redeem American Studies from its own hangups: "All the premises of American Studies are male chauvinist. American values, American character, etc. are male values, male character"(12).

At first blush, the idea of choosing between separatism and integration as principles for women's studies--that is, separate courses or material integrated into existing courses--seems a perfect example of the False Choice Fallacy. Why not do both? Perhaps in the near future both alternatives will be explored on all campuses, but for the immediate future, the economic pressures on American Studies and on universities generally may force a choice between the two directions. However inadequate the expedient, it seems highly probable that the persons to begin the new courses and teach them, as well as to incorporate new materials into existing courses, will be the people who are now teaching other courses in American Studies. It behooves them to do their homework (and there is more to the subject than many suppose) and catch up on the reading lists; Part II of this volume is included partly for their benefit. Such persons can be aided greatly in their planning by female graduate students in the program, many of whom are now willing to embrace the New Feminism as a life commitment. To them, their enthusiasm and their knowledge, American Studies is well advised to address its appeal.

THE POTTER THESIS -- PRO AND CON

At Stetson University in 1959, the late David Potter addressed a challenge specifically to American Studies that eventually became--but not until ten years later, on the eve of his death--a major document for the entire women's studies movement. In "American Women and American Character," Potter pointed out that when we speak of American national character, we really mean the character and history of the American man and we base our generalizations on that assumption. The Turner thesis, for instance, argues for the shaping influence on American character of the frontier--but does it not mean primarily the impact of the frontier on the American man? Are not the values associated with the West and the frontier values--aggressiveness, virility, the bravery of the solitary hero, etc.--reflected in Westerns and comic strips as well as in our history books, essentially the values of the American male? Have we not ignored the role of American woman in shaping and defining the national character? Potter's essay essentially asked the question and issued the challenge.

For one of the questions on the questionnaire about American Studies courses on women, I used a reference to the Potter thesis as a means to ask about the heavy male-orientation that currently characterizes our courses. Others besides Potter have addressed themselves to the topic, of course, but my choice of Potter was deliberate--not only because he is acknowledged in American Studies as a respected authority, not only because as a man he would be listened to by men sooner than I would if I'd simply made the point outright, but also because I had spoken to him at the 1969 AHA annual convention in Washington about putting out a volume of this kind and he had been good enough to encourage me. After his death in 1970, using his name to introduce the issue seemed a small way to acknowledge the role Potter had played in helping to raise all our consciousnesses a long time before the study of women's history reached its present crest.

Question #11 of the questionnaire then went on to ask: "IN YOUR EXISTING AMERICAN STUDIES COURSES, DO YOU FIND EVIDENCE OF SIMILAR 'COVERT' BIASES?" Readers were urged to check the sex of authors on their assigned reading lists, the sex of major figures studied, and whether the topics they chose tended to focus upon "the history and behavior of the American male, male heroes, etc." In the light of their answers to these questions, respondents were asked to give an overall assessment of the "woman-content" of their existing courses.

The question (or the mini-essay in question form, to be more precise) yielded as interesting a range of answers as any on the questionnaire. It divided respondents int four distinct camps.

First, there were those who responded to Potter's name and the argument he put forth. Most agreed with his position.

> Potter is probably right. I don't have bibliographies or lists with me but they are probably male-oriented. I don't think we have paid attention, really. (664)
>
> Potter made this point at Stetson and we /at Stetson/ have heeded it ever since, particularly in the course on National Character. (686)
>
> I use the essay you allude to. I read the Seneca Rights statement to classes. In discussing the topic of reform movements I emphasize the woman's problem along with that of racial minorities. (521)
>
> I've advocated Potter's position for some time. I've also advocated Harriet Martineau's research in classes and have always specifically discussed the "female" problem esp. in course on "Myth and Oral Literature." (707)

These four were the voices of men. Women too asserted the extent to which they had already taken cognizance of the Potter argument and adapted their courses accordingly. One difference: none of the women referred to the topic under discussion as the "female problem" or the "woman's problem":

> . . . in the MA level Am. Civ. course I included readings on and by women, mentioned women throughout my courses in American history--as workers, on pedestals (and off), as reformers, as pioneers, as 51% of the population, as radicals, as protesters and why, etc. . . (11)
>
> MY courses always focus on women, since I require reading on women's roles, men's roles, the movement, etc. Other books are highly male-oriented. (63)
>
> In my course in U.S. economic history, I emphasize the work role of women as well as the scapegoat role (Salem witch trial, nuclear family, etc.) (77)
>
> I consciously and consistently try to focus on the implications of male-female relationships in the literature we discuss, in order to provoke a discussion on what those relationships could be if we realize sexual equality. (58)

Less assertive but no less interesting were the reports of special efforts to adapt individual interests to meet the challenge of the Potter thesis--in one popular arts course, a respondent reported, "we have spent a great deal of time talking about stereotypes of women in popular fiction, etc. Not enough yet, but the course does use work of women scholars" (15), while a black woman in the sample rose to the challenge with the comment: "In the study of the Black experience in the Americas, there is much to study that is female and feminine. In fact, we black women are frequently accused by our

Black brothers of being too strong" (3). Consider the built-in assumption about what women's lives are about in this next report, by a woman who said her courses were "moving toward more on daily life, feminism, some aspects of social/economic history that are more in line with women's lives (e.g., consumer goods)" (35). Just as unnerving when the implications are assessed is the presumption behind this observation by a male historian:

> Political history generally focuses on males since during most of U.S. history only men could vote and hold office. Social history lends itself to dealing with the family and with non-political areas in which colonial and 19th century women did play significant roles. (664)

(I am thinking of a course on the anti-slavery movement I took at Michigan, with Dwight Dumond, in which Harriet Beecher Stowe received less than fifteen minutes of attention, despite her recognized impact on political history with the writing of UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.) Consider the plaintive note in the responses of some women--"Moving somewhat--but slowly--to include more on and by women." "Stereotypes are still plentiful, with male bias"(10) --in contrast to the hint of defensiveness in reports of activity from men:

> We have introduced a course THE WOMEN IN AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE DECLINE AND REVIVAL OF FEMINISM. We are actively searching for a woman for our faculty and we do give SOME consideration to the relationship of women to general history and contemporary American society. (557)

However, all these respondents and others agreed with the Potter thesis and reported movement--however slow--towards change.

A second and smaller group of respondents also acknowledged familiarity with Potter's argument but cast their responses to challenge its implications, raising various kinds of questions. One man questioned whether the Turner thesis was in fact a good illustration of male-oriented thinking.

> I always thought that the impact of the frontier on women's rights and their implementation as well as the contribution of women both on the frontier and in societies in 'the East' which were concerned with the frontier were related to the "proving" of the Turner thesis (548)

We come closer to engaging the Potter thesis with an antithesis if we examine the perceptions of several other male respondents. The first wrote:

> I've always agreed with and used Potter's argument. But don't over-do it. Some of our most important generalizations, some that I deal with in religious history, are probably more feminine than masculine, e.g., those having to do with social outreach, volunteer associations, etc. (638)

The generalization seems better than the examples used to support it--is not the entire "genteel tradition," for example, more feminine than masculine? Santayana himself had said as much in comparing the two halves of the American mind with the skyscraper and the colonial mansion, the one representing American Will, the other American Intellect; the one the domain of the American man, the other of the American woman. (From "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy," of course, and of course, something less than flattering to women. See Part III for the passage.) Some respondents may have had the same sort of argument in mind when they said the "woman-content" in their courses was "rather limited since that is the way American culture seems to be" (522) or "low, but I really believe our society was (not is) male oriented" (704). Respondent #531 puts the matter best:

> In making any criticism of American works of literature, one is bound to point out that the inadequacies of the literature and the harshness of the culture both seem in part from a lack of "feminine" presence. One hesitates, of course, to identify "femininity" stereotypically with women. (531)

Here is the beginning of an argument that deserves to be counterposed against the Potter thesis, for it combines the acknowledgement of two "sides to the American character" or two "halves to the American mind"--a split in the national psyche that has been observed by critics from de Tocqueville and Santayana through Philip Rahv and Eldridge Cleaver--with the recognition that the dominant strain has indeed been male chauvinist, male oriented, male dominated. The polarities between wilderness and civilization, redskin and paleface, the West and New England, the "will to believe" as against the "disposition to college"--how many of these familiar polarities could be related to the fundamental sexual polarity, as a number of American scholars have hinted? Alas, except for those mentioned, few respondents took the challenge of such an idea further.

"American Studies Should Know Better"

What did surface as resistance to the question, however, was the defense of current practice based on grounds of aesthetic criteria or public relations. That is, a third group of respondents defended the heavy male orientation of their reading lists, topics, heroes, etc. on the grounds that the best (aesthetically) and the best known (publically) figures in American literature or history were male. It was not a matter open to dispute, in their eyes; these were simply the facts of the matter, and the trouble with the question was that it did not face up to these "facts":

> The content [of my courses] is of the approximate proportion of writings of recorded accomplishments of women to the total population during my periods of interest, 1620-1840. In other words, small (593).
>
> I devote most of my spare time . . . to Emily Dickinson, but we must face the facts: she's our only nineteenth century woman author of first rank. (526)
>
> Women haven't written as many books as men in American Studies, so the male authors predominate, but we would use the best books available.(608)
>
> Representation of women scholars is limited, I suspect, more because outstanding scholars in the field have been, so far, men (52)
>
> It is necessarily so [that] the 'woman-content' of any course in American history & American literature is smaller than the 'man-content'(513)
>
> Yes, but for obvious reasons--women more prominent in movements rather than as heroes (691)
>
> Choice of material in courses based on merit of written work, not on author's color or sex. Ellison and KA Porter or Kate Chopin are read, for example, although not as extensively as Faulkner (699)
>
> Of course the major component of individuals [studied] is men! (626)
>
> On the whole, . . . plan to use good current and past literature, regardless of the sex of the author. I don't seek a 50-50 split, I concentrate on quality whenever I can. (562)
>
> It varies from year to year, but it is predominantly male-centered. To the extent that one wants to teach the first-rate literature of the 19th century, this is hard to avoid-- (32)

> Reading list almost exclusively male--but consider percentage of scholarly works published by women. However, I do buy your argument (or Potter's) about orientation. (690)
>
> Woman content limited because literary culture has very largely been dominated by male authors. (521)
>
> Yes, the women perhaps should get busy. (694)

This last comment is intended to be sarcastic, implying that the only way women can get on the reading lists is if they make more history worth writing about or write more books judged to be of high enough quality to assign to students. A female respondent amended this fearful judgement upon woman by criticizing the question's assumption that the sex of authors on reading lists and topic lists was an adequate guide to representing the woman-content of courses:

> These are insufficient guides since part of the problem is that women have not had the opportunity to act frequently in this capacity [as authors and major figures]. (703/85)

But the most frantic outburst of protest came from a man incensed by the entire question:

> Since courses and "reading lists" have very little to do with genuine intellectual growth, I find traces of PEDAGOGICAL chauvinism in this paragraph. CONTENT is not as important as quality, surely. (612)

While there are minor distinctions of emphasis and phrasing represented in these remarks, and despite the fact that the mood of the respondents ranges from positive and friendly to harsh and supercilious, there is a common theme uniting all of these criticisms. It is a theme that ought to have a familiar sound to those who have known the history of the American Studies movement itself and how it came to be.

> Dear ASA Commission:
>
> Don't let anyone tell you, in defense of their present practices, that they do not teach about women because they only teach "the best" and women have not created "the best" as much as men have. American Studies should know better! So should American literature and American history and the rest! Think of how we came to be, what opposition we faced to win our right to be considered as a respectable academic endeavor (become too academic and respectable by now, if you ask me). Remember how people said only European literature (or music or art) was worthy of study? "Who reads an American book?" and all that? And later, remember how Spiller et.al. had to argue against the New Critics and their ilk to assert the right to study literature for something besides its "pure aesthetic content"? And how American historians were called "chauvinists" (including art historians) if they did not view American history as part of, and as a footnote to, the history of Western Europe? Finally, how about the examples of Black history, Black literature, Black arts more recently--whatever the excesses, they are right when they make the point that you cannot know who and where you are by studying somebody else's life and culture--are not women now saying the same thing? American Studies was not afraid to face down the terrors in the dogmatism of New Critical snobs--why should it be afraid today? It was in the vanguard then and should be in the vanguard of the woman movement now. That doesn't mean you're against good literature, just because you want to include relevant literature (or history, or whatever)--material that relates to all your students. For heavens sake, let's have some faith in our own methods! . . . (68)

The answer given by feminists to the argument from the premise of "fact" (e.g., "the heroes are male--that's merely the fact of the matter"; "we must fact the facts--she's our only writer of rank";etc.) is a counter-argument also based on "fact": Whatever history women have made, that is the history (or herstory) that ought to be studied. Whatever facts are there, whatever literature or music or culture is there, these are the forms that gave shape and direction to her life and are therefore the proper subject for study. It makes no sense, they argue, to say that 51% of the population has no history simply because the history they have made has been neglected by the history books! (See Schmidt, "Overviews," Part III.)

There are times when the charges and countercharges between these camps of opinion sound like a dialogue of the deaf. One side continues to assert that the right thing to do is teach good literature and accurate history, and to use authors of quality, regardless of their sex, race, national origin, or previous condition of servitude. The other side continues to point to testimony of failure to include women:

> There was no woman-content in any course I had . . . (23)
>
> The typical American social-intellectual history survey [such as I had], which is my area of specialization, deals only with MALE social-intellectual movements. Temperance, abolitionist female contributions ignored [with the excuse] 'not enough time' (585)

The finger points to the heavy male orientation on topic lists and author lists, and to the evidence of discrimination against women, implying that either myopia or bigotry is the only possible explanation for these oversights.

"I Hadn't Realized"

After listening to such tense exchanges for a time, it is something of a relief to come upon the fourth and last kind of response to the questions about male-orientation in American Studies courses. This was a group of respondents who were caught by surprise and willing to say so:

> This question has brought me up short--I hadn't realized how sexually exclusive the reading for my AS seminar is--(687)
>
> Alas, yes [my courses are male-dominated]. But I'm glad to have it called to my attention. Mea culpa! (from letter, male).
>
> Woman-content as women very little--almost all is oriented and directed toward the male-hero, role, identity, etc. (546)
>
> I created a stir by including Sarah Orne Jewett in one course. Overall, though, less than 10%. (642)
>
> Mostly men, but I'm slowly getting more hip (509)
>
> Essentially male in orientation, yes . . . (717)
>
> In my courses I've been guilty of both sexism and racism, and I feel that . . . the texts have led me into the "trap." (524)
>
> It ain't too great, mainly because not too many women have written in my area--which makes it a self-fulfilling prophecy, I guess" (572)

If these eight may speak for the men among the respondents willing to admit their failures, there were also women who acknowledged that they should do more. The women, in fact, had two opportunities to assess their courses since one of the questions on the woman's page asked if they had reviewed the extent to which they themselves had "concentrated on American history as the

history made by men alone, American literature as the literature written by men, American character as that shaped by men, etc." To which some replied:

> No, but I certainly will now--I never thought of it before and I should have. (24)
>
> I have new courses only "in the womb" but will keep this in mind. (73)

And so on. About 10% of those responding, men and women, gave answers that went beyond acknowledging male domination in their courses to express a recognition of the failure or gratitude to the questionnaire for calling the matter to their attention.

Given the intensity of the emotions that were vented on other questions of the questionnaire, this large an expression of good will and candor may be surprising--and more than a questionnaire as pointed in its comments as this one should expect. When joined to the evidence reported in the first half of this chapter, these candid comments confirm the finding that conditions concerning women and teaching about women are about as bad for "American Studies in particular" as they are for "universities in general."

With this difference: we in American Studies have a chance to do something about it. Women's studies and the women's movement confront American Studies today as they confront no other such profession with a unique challenge and a unique opportunity.

"what the thunder said"

CHAPTER 4

"By and large, this questionnaire stinks--!"
--Male, asst. prof., pro-feminist

"The questionnaire is a good and thought-provoking approach--! BRAVO!!!
--Female, unemployed PhD, pro-feminist

"I look forward to receiving the next questionnaire in the fall, and I look forward to reading the results of this one."
--Female grad. student, neutral

"I tremble at the thought of another questionnaire in the fall. Questionnaires seem to have become a major academic industry."
--Male, full prof., neutral

"It's a good questionnaire--everything covered. I think the stereotype 'postscript' from Davis is highly valuable. I hope that I will receive information on the results."
--Female, assoc. prof., pro-feminist

"I find this insulting . . . this whole typical business seems to me ridiculous." "I can't believe you would play this game." "Absurd!" "Impossible!"
--2 Males, one pro, one anti;
2 Females, pro & neutral

"This /is/ to offer, merely, my congratulations to you and your committee for this undertaking. But, you see, my consciousness has long been raised . . ."
--Female, history instructor, pro-feminist

". . . I might conclude, if I generalized from this one piece of evidence, that women who distribute questionnaires ask leading questions, why-haven't you stopped-beating-your-wife questions, and unanswerable questions generally."
--Male, very angry

72 ♀

A standard bit of farce in ancient fables and Greek drama is the flailing of the courier by the king (or queen) who has just received bad news and blames the messenger for the message. Conversely, of course, the emissary may be rewarded and congratulated if the news he brings pleases its recipient.

Something of the same sort of farcical exchange can be found in the responses of some ASA Questionnaire recipients to the "leading" questions that were asked. There were some who visited their wrath upon the single most offensive question, some who took it out on the entire questionnaire, and some who transferred their response to the people who had sent it.

There is more than farce involved, however, when we recognize a pattern in the identity of those who thundered loudest at the messenger. The story that emerges recalls Philip Goldberg's findings on the relationship between covert emotional attitudes toward women and the ability to perceive fact. In Goldberg's study, college students were asked to rate the scholarship and professional competence of the authors of a set of articles--identical except for the fact that the names of the authors were varied. An article which bore the author's name as "John T. McKay" in one set would appear in another under the name "Joan T. McKay." Each book given the students had three articles by "men" and three by "women." Goldberg's results, by now famous, were astonishing: "The students consistently found an article more valuable--and its author more competent--when the article bore a male name. Though the articles were exactly the same, the students felt that those written by John T. McKay were more impressive, and reflected more glory on their authors, than did the mediocre offerings of the Joan T. McKays." (TRANS-ACTION, April 1968)

Goldberg's subjects were students. The subjects used by Linda Fidell for a similar study were department heads. Fidell gave paragraphs describing job applicants to 155 chairmen of psychology departments, asking them to rate candidates according to their desirability and indicate at what level each should be offered a position--as full professor? associate? assistant? research assistant? lecturer? Pairs of descriptions were given that were identical except for the sex of the applicant. The "women" in the group, it turned out, were offered lower levels of appointments for seven of the eight paragraphs and rated less desireable for six of the eight. For example, the "men" were favored for the rank of full professor seven times, the women not even once; for associate professor 248 times to 208 for women; and for assistant 244 times to 223 for women. For the low ranks, however, women were favored for research assistant 25 times as against 11 times for men, and for lecturer 27 times as against 14 for men. ("Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring . . .," in press, AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST)

In the present case, the subjects are faculty and students who are, as members of ASA, "professionals" responding to a questionnaire sent by colleagues under the auspices of "their" association. One's instinctive response is to expect such persons to "know better." Yet in tone of voice, choice of phrasing, quixotic outbursts scrawled in margins, and protests against the questionnaire, a sum of emotional attitudes emerged to suggest a story not unlike the one empirically verified in the statistics of Goldberg and Fidell. It is a story apart from the "information" reported in the two previous chapters--yet it has a direct bearing on the facts these respondents reported. As with the other studies, the story has to do with the relationship between emotional commitment and perception, between attitudes toward women and the perception of facts about them. The difference is, in this case, that the disparities found were between men and women responding to the same questions, and in the kinds of outrage expressed.

The fact that the story was not sought makes it, to my mind, all the more striking. It impinged upon the consciousness as we perused the successive sets of questionnaire responses that came in the mails each day--with each day bringing at least one outburst of outrage. Finally, it occurred to us to compare the attitudes expressed on responses to certain key questions with one another as well as matching them against general trends. When we did so, we

began to discover a kinship between those few who expressed outrage directly (the real "thunderers") and those whose rumblings surfaced more ominously in cynical phrasings and clever asides. In seeking to know "What the thunder said" (in Eliot's phrase), we announce the aim of this chapter--the effort to explore and understand the meaning of these "extrinsic" forms of resistance.

First of all, we tried to see whether the rumblings could be codified on a scale--a continuum ranging from 0 to 10 in terms of intensity of response. For a random sampling of 50 men and 50 women, we compared responses to three of the particularly sensitive questions, which appeared under the heading, PERSONAL OPINION:

(1) HOW GREAT IS THE PROBLEM OF DISCRIMINATION BASED ON SEX?

A full 53% of the women in the sample replied great or very great as compared to 36% of the men. The percentages that replied to say it was moderate were not significantly different (36% M, 28% F) while those who found it minor or non-existent were exactly the same (10%).

(2) ARE YOU AWARE OF INEQUITIES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN OF THE SAME COMPETENCE, MATURITY, SKILL, PREPARATION, ETC.? HAVE YOU BEEN AWARE OF FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION, OVERT OR COVERT, AT YOUR CAMPUS? (combination of 10 c & d)

The significant finding here was the sizeable percentage of men--38%--who insisted none as compared to 18% of the women. 44% of the men and 54% of the women reported moderate, while 20% of the women as against only 12% of the men found it great.

(3) HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE "WOMEN'S LIB" GENERALLY?

Here a clear difference of opinion between men and women emerged at the two ends of the scale. Among answers that could be characterized as very positive toward women's lib, there were 14 (28%) by women, only 3 (6%) by men; for positive: 12 by women (24%) and 16 by men (32%); so that the total of "clear positives" was 26 women (52%) as against 19 men (38%). At the other end, only 3 women (6%) and 10 men (20%) were "clear negatives" --only 2 of the women and 4 of the men very negative. What happened, then, in the middle? Here were answers that could only be characterized subjectively--not only as moderate but more often as ambivalent or qualified. Between the two extremes, the center of the continuum could not sustain the complexity.

When we discovered that the third question was eliciting the most interesting range of responses but that the answers would not yield beyond this point to the yardstick we were attempting to use, I asked my research assistant CC Kleinsorge to collect and characterize these responses with the aid of cartoon faces similar to those she had used in helping me to grade papers. I also asked her to give me her own subjective impression of the 100 answers to the question on women's liberation. Herewith is Ms. Kleinsorge's mini-essay on the topic, complete with her choice of title:

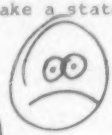
THE PRISONER OF SEXUS, PLEXUS, NEXUS AND HEXUS

or

THE GREENING OF AMERICAN STUDIES

A Mini-Essay on Responses to the Question on Women's Liberation
by CC Kleinsorge

This is the one question on the questionnaire that nearly everyone answered--the subject of women's liberation is still so controversial that almost all of our respondents felt a need to make a statement of some kind about it.

Responses ranged from to  with some reactions of and and as well.

There were very few middle-of-the-road or wishy-washy answers; nearly everyone felt strongly one way or another--and sometimes strongly both ways at once! Many took exception to the "scare tactics" they saw being used by the more visible wing of Women's Liberation, but even these admitted the importance of the movement in general. To some, however, the radical actions obscured the purposes of the more substantial elements of the movement. As might be expected, the women as a group were more strongly in favor of the movement than the men, but it also had support from a (to me) suprisingly large segment of the male sample as well. There were also Uncle Moms and Aunt Daddys in both groups who have not yet been liberated, and some who took the word characterize literally and described the essential traits of the movement. Because it is difficult to group these responses into verbal catagories, I have placed the statements with appropriate cartoon faces which illustrate the sentiments expressed in the responses which follow.

Excellent

A needed awakening, esp. for men

A good movement

Long overdue

A step in the right direction

Beneficial

A movement to liberate everyone from specific sexual stereotypes and roles which are based solely on cultural rather than biological bases.

Important as black power is for blacks

Needed, potentially revolutionary

Fantastic, necessary, educating

A ray of hope on women awakening

Right on!

I'm all for it

A fresh breeze at long last

Mistreated in the media--an important movement

Women's lib has defied the boundaries of class and rank

Serves a similar purpose that the Civil Rights movement did--calling attention to areas of needed change

A crying social need

76 ♀

The formal movement is for nuts; women's rights is something else

Hysterical but healthy

The issues need airing--most complaints are justified. The style is atrocious

Reasonable to aggressive

Sensible core group with crusading fringes

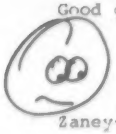
Partially issue oriented and partially composed of ideological fanatics.

About like every reform movement. Many serious & conscientious advocates. A few "crackpots" and "loudmouths"

Social and economic grievances are legitimate, should be corrected. Sexual issue is silly.

Serious concern to private blindness

Good grievances, but obnoxious



Zaney--I prefer "people's lib"

It offers the possibility of cultural enrichment

Needed, but not here

Somewhat "far-out"

Well-promoted

Transitory, as most are

Sometimes good, sometimes too weird to be effective

Excellent in principle--occasional harsh rhetoric lamentable

Some of it is valid; part is nonsense (the bra business)

Long overdue, not yet stable

Interesting and valuable revival of neo-feminism but unclear about its goals--the expressed goals are trivial

Important, but excesses tend to distort it

Lack of intellectual integrity and approach nullifies much value they could have often

White middle class

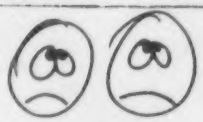
Radical

Interesting

Confined. Has not reached those who really need it--higher ed. especia

Much of it a waste of time

Ill guided, misinformed



80% psychotic

Gone berserk

Disorganized, fragmented, idealistic without long-range goals concretized

A dead issue!

Silly

Over-emphasized--problem is not as great here as extremists suggest

Misunderstood in the "grass roots," possibly because of bra-burning but also because of opposition to change

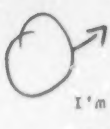
Anti-rational and unnatural, only economically justified

Overdone

Confusing

Some of rhetoric of present extreme. Women's lib in long run hurts cause.

I don't like it as I feel they go somewhat overboard

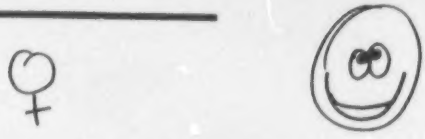


I'm for it, whatever it is

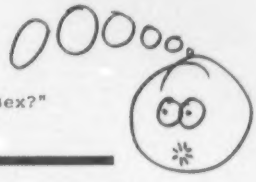
With friends like some of its leaders, who needs enemies?

A bit strident, but let 'em at 'em!!

Good idea, lacking in love (Bella Abzug has it)



Best thing since the washing machine!



"How great is the discrimination problem based on sex?"
--Only a problem to women!

THUNDER LOUD AND LATENT

The question about "women's lib"--in quotation marks, with liberation abbreviated (several respondents scolded us for both)--was merely the most pointed of the questions designed to force difference of opinion to the surface. Strong emotions and polarization were apparent in other responses as well. Indeed, a curious disparity soon began to appear. If one looked at statistics on those who responded to these questions, the "pro"-feminist majority stood forth strong in its numbers. One could conclude that the Americanists of Academe, as represented by this sample, strongly favored equality for women.

But if one listened for distant thunder, one began to wonder whether this same staunch feminist majority really wanted to change the status of women at all. Resistance to change, the propensity NOT to act, may find expression on a questionnaire in refusal to answer--or simply mild paralysis when confronted by bewildering choices--and the "No Answer" column may take on greater importance. Even on so unsuspecting a question as one about whether ASA should pass resolutions, this curious pattern surfaced:

WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE ASA PASS A SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE PASSED BY MLA, AHA, AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS?

Out of the sample of 234 (167 M, 67 F), a full 95% of the women who answered this question said yes, and so did a full 75% of the men. But if the number who did not answer at all is counted in, then the yes vote is reduced to 61% of the women (still a majority) and 36% of the men (a minority now), since 86 men in the sample (over half) did not answer the question. Neither did 22 women (35%). Only 2 women opposed passing resolutions (3%), while 19 men (12%) in the sample also said no.

Since we had already found a "credibility gap" between the way men and women answered supposedly "factual" questions about departmental policies, as reported in Chapter Two, I began to get suspicious about this pattern. I was curious to see whether the intensity of emotion and sexual polarization had any bearing on credibility of response. By selecting a number of "key" questions whose answers I compared,* I devised a scale to measure and match both credibility and consistency of "pro" and "anti" feelings (fondly called, while it lasted, my C-C Scale).

I first tried the scale on those thunderers who had signalled their antipathy in advance, in letters or marginal notes. The congruence was astonishing: the same men who claimed to "know" that salaries, tenure, promotions, etc. were not equitable in their departments and that changes were not resulting from HEW pressures were also the ones who did not think discrimination was a problem and knew personally of no inequities, did not like "women's lib," did not agree that women faculty should be "sought out and given preference until . . ." (#14) but did agree that qualified women "had no difficulty . . ." (#30)--and it was they who protested most against the questionnaire ("not scholarly," "not scientific," etc.). The entire range of responses was amazingly--and distressingly--predictable.**

Testing the scale next on an obviously "pro-feminist" group did reveal a degree of consistency in the other direction, but not nearly as much and not nearly as reliable, statistically speaking. The women selected for this group did "know" several occasions that salaries, tenure, hiring, etc. were inequitable in their departments; they personally knew of inequities (and cited cases); they did think discrimination a great problem, liked "women's lib," agreed that faculty women should be "sought out and given preference. . ." and disagreed that "truly qualified women have no difficulty . . ." But there were too many "don't knows" and "not sures" and qualifications added to defend responses on the #13-14 questions to make clear a credibility gap on this side of the aisle. The women, in short, spoiled the neatness of the polarity at the same time that enough of them confirmed its existence.

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*For the benefit of those who may wish to retrace my steps, the selected "key" questions were: Questions #13 & #14 for credibility; #10A-10G plus #12 and #15 for consistency and intensity of emotion--these checked against POSTSCRIPT II's #14 versus #30, and then as needed, the answers to POSTSCRIPT II's #7, #9, #18, #19, #24, and #32. (See pp. 97-103.)

**It is interesting that several in this group had classes with large percentages of women (one 100%--not a women's college). As did most other respondents, they admitted a disproportionately high concentration of men in the upper ranks. The gap between the number of women in the program and the number of women on the faculty existed on their own campuses, so the thunderers could hardly be said to be defending situations where there really was no evidence of differential treatment. (There was one such case on the questionnaires--from Oberlin College--but the respondent was not miffed in the least at the questions and thundered not at all in her pleasant and jolly replies.)

The C-C Scale began to fall apart, however, when it was tried on a random sampling. Once again, the complexity was in the middle regions of opinion and attitude in contrast to the clarity at both ends. I abandoned the scale at this point, inclined to believe that all we were really accomplishing with our tabulations, after the manner of certain social scientists whose studies end up demonstrating what any man on the street could have told them in the first place, was to create an unweildy structure of statistics to confirm the obvious.

And "the obvious," in this case, was a conclusion that could not be resisted for very long: namely, that with a few exceptions on some questions and some respondents, the "thunderers" were men. Some years ago, while on a television panel, I had made a more or less flippant prediction to the effect that before long there would be all sorts of people doing "Kerner Report types of studies" on women, except that instead of arriving at the conclusion that the root cause of the problem was white racism (a conclusion that hardly seemed news to the blacks in the ghetto), these studies would arrive after prodigious labors at the "startling" conclusion that the root cause was male sexism. It now seemed, four years later, that my own C-C Scale had led me to nothing more than this same conclusion--the abstraction I had predicted showing up on our questionnaires in flesh and blood and in full voice.

At this point, it seems most appropriate to let their voice speak for itself. Among the representative types of "thunder" that intrigued us--from hostile to gentle, overt to latent--were these:

1--THE MAN WHO SAID there was "no evidence where I've taught" of discrimination," "no problem at all" in American Studies, and that as far as inequities are concerned, there were "NONE--if anything, women usually have been given preference at several institutions" where he'd taught. When asked how often women had been chairmen, he offered: "Women faculty are rarely interested in interdisciplinary efforts, and are often rigidly conventional"--adding in the margin, "but then so are many men." In the margin of one series of questions, he wrote, having refused to answer, that the questions were "naive" and that "At no institution of my acquaintance--and I have taught at major ones--is there a distinction made between men and women faculty so far as salary, rank, promotion, load, etc. are concerned." Special procedures for hiring? "Whatever special procedures would be needed? Women candidates send in applications as often as men." Resolutions? "No. ASA has already gone too far with involving itself in this 'status of women' situation." (660)

2--THE MAN WHO SAID his AS classes were 100% women and explained that "women here prefer the less difficult AS program to the more difficult and much narrower majors (i.e., English, History)." When asked about woman-content in his courses, he retorted: "Where are the great American women writers?" The same man found the problem of discrimination "minor" and "very little" discrimination at his campus, although the chairmen, administrators, full and associate professors were all or mostly male and only one assistant professor was a woman. He answered "no" to the entire series of questions on salary, tenure, job posting, etc. and insisted no special procedures would be needed to recruit women because "We have always been ready to hire women." He was unsure whether salaries had been reviewed or changes were planned and yet he added: "Salaries are not inequitable by sex here." Needless to add, he disagreed on PS II #14, agreed with #30. (521)

3--THE MAN WHO REFUSED to answer the questionnaire at all but sent a long single-spaced letter explaining that answering would take too much time --"probably the better part of a day"--and their program in not suited to the question anyway; besides, he himself has served on committees charged with defining and correcting discrimination "because the Department of Health,

Education and Welfare threatened to cancel our government funds unless we showed that we were stopping a considerable range of discriminatory practices, ranging from inequalities in salary to posting of sexually-defined descriptions of jobs (e.g., draftsman, instructor in physical education for women)" so he knows the answers to the questions we are asking are "too complex and varied" to be "significant," and he knows that some of the ASA members who are answering them "are not well enough informed to give significant answers even to answerable questions [sic] , and that their answers would vary greatly--as their answers to questions on other topics would vary greatly." He then goes on for two incomparable paragraphs in which his contempt fairly drips--soaking everything in sight--questionnaire and its senders and American Studies itself. "Like most questionnaires I get in the mail (and one could spend a great deal of time filling out questionnaires), this one has many questions that I find difficult to understand."

> "If I had formed a stereotyped impression of what a woman faculty member is like, which apparently the people at Davis expect their subjects or informants to do, I might include in it, if I generalized from this one piece of evidence, that women who distribute questionnaires ask leading questions, why-haven't-you-stopped-beating-your-wife questions, and unanswerable questions generally. But these questions are not much different in general quality from questions on other questionnaires, especially questionnaires made by people with grievances to demonstrate or causes to advance, except that I don't think that I have ever before gotten a questionnaire from a group that I knew or practically knew to have been made (with the exception of one section of it) by persons of one sex.
>
> I am not attempting to minimize or deny the importance of discrimination against women. I hope that your committee will make a thorough survey, such as I do not believe it could effectively make through this questionnaire, if it appears that the unit of American Studies is a significant unit." (715)

4--THE MAN WHO IS a full professor, 50% in American Studies, and after 24 years of college teaching has seen "not a single instance" of discrimination on his campus, feeling there is "None that I know of" in the culture generally. His department's ranks are mostly male; he says they have recently reviewed salaries to see if there is discrimination "and found none" so changes are "unnecessary"; a string of no's answers the rest of the questions on #13 and #14. He "strongly agrees" that the truly qualified women in his field have no trouble achieving recognition and getting ahead. In all this, does he feel himself well-informed? "Very well informed. I inquire and compare constantly." (538)

5--THE MAN WHOSE ANSWERS were almost exactly the same as #538's, but who added the marginal comment: "This is the most confusing and probably least fruitful questionnaire I have been confronted with. Little opportunity for clear and direct answers is offered." (636)

6--THE MAN WHO FILLED IN more or less standard answers (that is, like most of the men in the sample), then sealed the letter but felt compelled to add a note on the back of the envelope: "very difficult and frustrating questionnaire--hard to define justice for any group in a competitive society." (554)

7--THE MAN WHO ACKNOWLEDGED the necessity of the women's movement, but saw fit to add, when characterizing its "excesses": "Betty Friedan must be the ugliest woman in the U. S."

8--A MAN OF REPUTATION, another Ambivalent, who added a letter to say the questionnaire was "not easy to answer; like most questionnaires of this sort, the queries are highly loaded, and one is as often provoked as challenged. Scientifically it won't stand up as scholarship; politically I applaud it." In his answers, he says discrimination "is only a problem to women" and that the only problem in AS and at his campus is "finding suitably able women"--They don't need to attempt the special procedures HEW urges, "just the attempt to find them" (qualified women). "Judgements have not been made with reference to sex" on tenure; reviewing salaries "is not a departmental prerogative" and no changes are planned to insure equity because "it already exists." On PS II, he agrees on #11, #13 and strongly agrees on #30, to which he has added the word "now," and strongly disagrees on #14. (555)

9--A MAN WHO ADDED a long letter to an otherwise standard set of answers, saying, among other things: "I have enjoyed working with women more than with men, for I have worked with less of them and it was, thus, a treat. I like the feminine approach, not because it is any better or worse but because in our society, it differs enough from the masculine approach to seem fresh and new . . . .

I think a woman should be as womanly (whatever she chooses that to mean) as she wishes. I certainly don't go about acting meek and hiding my masculinity. Certainly competence on the job is the only requisite in hiring and promotion. But sex is nice . . . .

It wasn't until I married that I realized some of the physiological difficulties women must endure while hewing to the lines set out by men as working conditions:

> certainly women should be allowed 3 to 5 days off consecutively each month without prejudice or without the time being deducted from sick leave . . .

I don't feel that sexual stimulation is a bad thing in an office or on a faculty. I like it. I don't think it impairs efficiency at work . . . .

I never feel ashamed doing the dishes, taking care of the kid or cleaning up after the cats. If I could sew, I would. If my wife could make more $ than I, I'd let her go to work; I'm more efficient around the house anyway . . . . (Emphasis added)

And one more for the "How's That Again? Department":

10--A MAN WHO SAYS he is well-informed, finds women's lib "legitimate and most welcome," lists the things he does in existing courses (uses Potter, reads Seneca Rights statement, discusses "the woman's problem along with that of racial minorities" when teaching reform movements), says all top administrative posts and all or most top ranks held by men, follows with a string of no's on #13 and #14, strongly agrees on #30 and disagrees on #14 of PS II, yet "not aware of any" discrimination and "not aware of any" inequities, although his students are "at least 50%" women, "often more than 50% since many prospective elementary teachers major in AS." His cover letter reads:

> I went through the questionnaire carefully, feeling pretty virtuous about my answers, and then had my wife and daughter (much for equality, at 13) check on my answers. They caught me in some inconsistencies, which I corrected.
>
> . . As chairman designate of the English Department I have my eye on a woman whom I shall try to groom to be my successor. If some male turns out to be better qualified, apart from sex, I'll lose out. If I can be of further service to the cause, please let me know (emphasis added),
>
> Very truly, -------- (537)

Surely by now a reader will recognize how strong is the temptation to sneer or to smile, guffaw at gaffes, enjoy oneself at the expense of those who, as in the last three cases, are clearly struggling in their own way to express good will.

THE UNCLE MOMS--WHERE WERE THEY?

"If anything," Margot Hentoff writes, "women show more prejudice toward women and do more to perpetuate the stereotypes of women than men do" (NEW YORK REVIEW, Jan. 16, 1969), while Florynce Kennedy says: "At least one answer to the failure of any number of people, especially women, to accept as a fact the contention that women are oppressed, might lie in their experience of having been the victim of an oppressive woman . . ." (SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, 1970, p. 4

Much has been said in recent years of the conspicuous absence of professional women, including academic women, from the women's movement. Explanations have ranged from patient demonstrations of the vulnerability and professional conditioning of such women (see Jesse Barnard, ACADEMIC WOMEN) to broadsides levelled by radical feminists against "Uncle Moms" and "Aunt Janes" who cater to male chauvinist points of view, jealously guard elitist views of themselves, and generally dislike other women. Whether or not such women are "cowards" and "unsisterly," there has been little doubt of their dominant presence.

Both the experience of other professional associations and personal experience had led the ASA Commission to expect a strong showing by the Uncle Moms on the questionnaire. In its statement to the American Psychological Association in 1970, the Association for Women Psychologists followed its extensive review of the facts with this analysis:

> Women are reacting to this grossly inequitable situation in a variety of ways. Some resign themselves to it, as they have been taught women should do; others hotly deny discrimination, in the face of incontrovertible facts; others maintain that the discrimination is proper, because women drop out of the labor force when married (not so--90% of the women with doctorates remain in the labor force), that determined women can overcome the barriers placed in their way, by single-minded dedication and hard work (why shouldn't women have to do the same?) or that these inequities exist but are slowly but surely being eliminated and women should simply have patience (that feminine virtue!).
>
> (PSYCHOLOGY AND THE NEW WOMAN, on mimeograph, AWP to APA, p. 4)

If this list of reactions typifies how academic women are responding, it presents a dismal picture indeed.

One commissioner felt there should have been more on the questionnaire to allow us to make what she called THE CASE AGAINST WOMEN (see Chapter One, Case Histories). After recounting her own bitter experience with older, single Uncle Mom types, similar to experiences that two others among us had also had, she hit upon an apt literary metaphor to state the dilemma such women faced: "Whether the governess in Henry James' THE TURN OF THE SCREW is a sexually repressed neurotic or is accurately reporting reality is a real question." (1) (The implications suggested here bear indirectly upon the "credibility gap" discussed in this and an earlier chapter.)

In the light of these analyses, consider these examples.

11--THE WOMAN WHO described the "Typical Female Faculty Member" as "so self-centered she is neither"(warm nor cold, that is), and checked all the extreme negative traits on this question, similarly weighing all answers in PS II strongly against women faculty to the point of changing #38 to say "I generally find it difficult to work closely with a woman in a professional context without becoming aware of her [and here she added] cattiness and unfairness and selfishness." In a cover letter, she said: "I think this 'discrimination against women' agitation is much ado about nothing. I have never been discriminated against as a woman, nor do I know of any woman who has been.

> I acutely dislike 'pushy women' and those women I know who claim that they are being discriminated against have not been giving the jobs which they are paid to do their best efforts. Not really qualifying for promotion and perhaps in difficulties because of slacking or incompetence, they claim discrimination.
>
> I prefer to work for and with men because they do not have the psychological problems that those women do who consider themselves abused, discriminated against, who are trying to be a wife and mother at the same time as having a career, who are emotional and take things personally, etc." (55)

12--THE WOMAN WHO ANSWERED the question on how great discrimination is with "I haven't faced it" and said she had not been aware of inequities, answered "it depends on the individual" for two questions (on women's lib, on whether AS is well-suited to women), did not answer the woman's page except to put a "No" after the first two questions, does not want ASA to pass resolutions because "I favor equality of opportunity, not reverse discrimination," and after a set of strongly "conservative" answers on Postscript II (more extreme by far than those of any man in the sample) felt impelled to add at the bottom of the final page, "Incidentally, I am a woman." (22)

13--THE WOMAN WHO FINDS no problem of discrimination generally and has seen no inequities, finds women's lib "ill-guided, misinformed" and writes "silly and irrelevant question" when asked how great the problem is in AS. When asked for suggestions on the woman's page, "I'm appalled that a scholarly society should be interested in these trivial, transient things . . . . I want no part of it. It's time to leave ASA, I think." Apparently still in a furor while answering PS II, she "strongly disagrees" with every question that expresses current attitudes in the woman movement (#14, #23, #45) and agrees or strongly agrees with stereotyped positions on others (#17, #18, #19, #25, #26, and #30). Having completed her graduate work at a prestigious school in 1958, she has been an associate professor for one year after ten years of teaching, and she says she is well-informed on the issues because "I have been a department chairman." (4)

Once we have accounted for these three dissidents, however (very different from one another), we search in vain among the 82 remaining women for companions. In this study, the major fact about the Uncle Moms is the fact that they didn't show up! Neither overt anti-feminism nor dislike for women appeared in other responses. Of the 20% who reported not having experienced discrimination, none others "hotly denied" it. Even the 24% of the women who agreed with question #30 in Postscript II (see next chapter) breaks down into only five who strongly agreed (only 2 besides the 3 above), and of the six who agreed, two added qualifiers and one underlined the word truly several times. The ASA sample is small but it is representative enough to raise some questions. Has the role of the academic Uncle Moms been all along exaggerated? Are women interviewed in 1971 giving answers they would not have given even so short a time as a year ago? There may well be a signal in this evidence that the women's movement in Academia has finally turned a corner.

THUNDER ON THE LEFT?

So far, this chapter has recorded as "thunder" only the words and opinions of those whose opposition to the questionnaire is closely linked to their opposition to the woman's movement itself. While a few women were found to be among them, most of these opponents turned out to be men. If resistance to change is identified as conservatism and this range of responses characterized as the "right wing" of the spectrum of sexual politics, it is appropriate to ask whether there was thunder from the Left as well as the Right echoing through our responses. Consider these two interesting respondents --one male, one female--as possible candidates for the role of Left-wing Thunderer.

14--THE MAN WHO BY ALL APPEARANCES is pro-feminist but kept insisting that the areas where discrimination could exist did not pertain to his university or his classes, answers one question with the comment "irrelevant to your topic and damned nosy," expresses honest doubt as to whether there is covert sexism behind his reading lists in existing courses, is impatient with the questions on p. 1 ("I would suggest you correspond directly with our chairman or secretary" and "I'm not going to go back and count up but I'd roughly estimate 40-50%"), wrote "Oh come on" and "blah" on the Typical/Ideal question and scribbled in the margins of PS II, then lost his cool in the note he scrawled on the back of the cover letter:

> By and large this questionnaire stinks--it reeks of superficial social science mumbo-jumbo . . . . Anyone who has eyes and a brain knows that:
>
> a) women are unfairly treated from grad. school through getting a job, holding it, getting promoted, committee work, etc.
> b) they can and do perform professionally as well as non-scholastically, pedagogically, and in every other way.
>
> . . . Professional and social discrimination--whether racially, sexually, or otherwise motivated--is obviously wrong--and just as obviously rampant. Psychologists hide behind attitudinal surveys (like this one) to obscure the fact that the problem is a legal one. It's irrelevant whether I like (or admire, respect) blacks, women, Jews, foreigners, the handicapped, etc. It is relevant that I be prepared to (forced to, if necessary) disregard these factors in my professional treatment of colleagues and students. (535)

15--THE WOMAN WHO GAVE very pro-lib answers--"Right On!!" for women's lib, "very great" for how great is the problem, "yes" answers on #13, a list of instances to document discrimination, etc.--also added a whimsical note about herself: "My answers are confusing. I am very marginal. I am an ex-faculty wife Women's Liberationist left by my husband. . . . I take home $139 per month (to support family) . . . I am typical of lots of _____ women. Friday I defend my dissertation." In the margin of Postscript I, she said, "I cannot bear to answer this question--it makes me feel too unsisterly. Read my poem." The poem was attached to the questionnaire:

> TO THE PROFESSORS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE WHO TALK ABOUT WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND OTHER OBJECTS
>
> Don't study me
> Relate
> Know me but
> Don't study me
> Like an ant in an anthill
> Objective reality like that
> Is another form of
> Alienation
> When people are ants
> Being studied for the
> Purpose of controlling us
> So don't control me
>
> Relate to me
> Dig me
> Respect me
> Learn from me
> It is time the teachers
> Became the taught
> Otherwise I can't listen
> To what you are saying
> I mean laying on
>
> (77)

Both of these respondents favor sexual equality and acknowledge the problem, and both are unhappy with the questionnaire. But that is really all that unites them; they are too idiosyncratic to constitute between them the identifiable voice of the left. For that voice, readers are better advised to turn to some of the syllabi describing women's studies courses in Part II --for instance, the slate of American Studies courses offered at SUNY Buffalo. The fact is that the responses on the questionnaire which might be grouped as the "left wing" on the grounds that they favored change (reformist or revolutionary) were seldom so unfriendly as to "thunder" their disagreements; those who felt uneasy settled for small scoldings about the "establishment" attitudes revealed in phrasings and assumptions; many more did not feel the need to criticise at all.

What ought to be recorded as significant, rather, before we turn to summarize the overall protest vote on the questionnaire, is the kind of response that distinguished between general attitude and the attitude toward specific questions. For instance, one respondent came on strong against Postscript I: "This is one of the worst questionnaire forms I have ever seen. I wonder what you will really learn from it . . . ." (654) But on the cover of his return appeared this decidedly friendly note: "Good luck, I admire your energy and your willingness to show us how we've discriminated against women, which I'm sure we have in the profession . . ." (654) Such a man can not really be called "ambivalent," as others are who displayed plus-and-minus attitudes; he is genuinely "in" with the questioners and the project they have put before him--it's just that he disagrees on this one question. He is strong in both his positive and negative response. Like many others, he deserves to be counted both as a Friend of the questionnaire and one who contributed to the Protest Vote. It is to the latter that we must now turn.

THE PROTEST VOTE

It is hardly fair to the friendly majority to give over more space to the outraged simply because their indignation is more interesting than amiability. The time has come to reaffirm the fact that the thunderers and protesters, for all their vivid presence, represent a minority voice. That is to say, using the appellations Friend or Foe (with tongue in cheek):

(1) by a large margin, ranging between 70% to 95%, the majority of the women who answered all the questions considered as "test" questions are Friends (pro-feminist, pro-resolutions, they see a problem and experienced discrimination);

(2) if one counts only the men who answered the various questions that served as tests, this majority is also Friendly (by a margin ranging from 55% to 75%, depending on the question);

(3) if one counts in the men who did not answer some of these questions, however, the percentage of Friendly drops into the 30% to 50% category, so conspicuous are the number of unanswered or ambiguously answered questions;

(4) while the women's answers come out stronger on the Friendly side (i.e., recognize a greater problem, stronger for wanting something done, stronger on their opinions) than the men, there is a sizeable group of men in ASA that is just as militantly pro-feminist as these women; the total "militant pro-fem" vote: ca. 20%;

(5) the majority of men, however, and the next to the largest group of women (after those in 4, above) are probably in a middle catagory called Moderate (moderately friendly) or Ambivalent (friendly on some things, unfriendly and clearly so on others); this middle-of-the-road group is made up primarily of men who do not see a very great problem;

(6) the Foes (Unfriendly) are a distinct minority of both men and women, the percentage of unfriendly women being smaller always than the percentage of unfriendly men. For women, this figure is never over 10% (8); for men, it is never over 14% (30).

Such an overall count does not, however, make room for the individual protests against individual questions, sections or points of view. For if we gave a vote to every return that "protested" at least one question, or one aspect of the questionnaire, the above impression would be dramatically reversed: the total would be close to, if not more than, 50% (the difficulty lies in interpreting the meaning of unanswered sections or questions)--that is, half of the respondents "protested" against one thing or another!!

How then to measure the "protest vote" in the entire electorate represented by these questionnaires? Commissioner Lois Rudnick counted out three categories: (1) PROTESTS AGAINST THE ENTIRE QUESTIONNAIRE, including the several forms of protest included in the present chapter: Result: There were, to our mutual surprise, only 18 of these out of the total of 310 (14 men, 4 women--the 3 Uncle Moms and The Poet; we had both thought we remembered more, but memory plays tricks: it was the vividness of these few that had impressed us.) (2) PROTESTS AGAINST POSTSCRIPT I, the Typical/Ideal question--by far, the largest number of protests, many intensely critical, as many from friendly as unfriendly critics, for a total of ca. 20-30% of all respondents. (3) PROTESTS AGAINST POSTSCRIPT II, the "Agree/Disagree" questions. Only ten protested the entire section, but the number would be higher if there were some clear-cut way to count those who protested against all the University of California, Davis questions (i.e., people who were still mad at PS I when they were answering PS II!) On the other hand, 60% of all who answered the questions (less than 40% if those who did not answer are counted in) objected to or qualified in writing at least one question in Postscript II. Thus the "protest" on Postscript II lies somewhere between a small minority angry about all the questions here and a clear majority that felt strong enough about the wording to qualify at least once; without question, the most inventive phrasings of protest, the most lively and clever (and friendly) were also to be found in this section.

It is obvious from the above that the tale to be told about the protest vote--and to an extent, about the thunder and the thunderers we have not yet accounted for--is related to the two controversial Postscripts. For this reason, if for no other, these two questions deserve a chapter of their own.

DATTA.

DAYADHVAM.

DAMYATA.

Shantih shantih shantih

postscripts one and two

"A dizzy blonde by any other name
is an absent-minded professor."
--FAMOUS FOLK SAYING

According to stereotype, a woman is by definition passive, dependent, accepting, open, cooperative, calm. She is also emotional, in the sense that she relies upon woman's intuition more than critical thinking and weeps when hurt (one more reason, Mary Ellmann says, that men think of women as wet). This may also imply she is less intelligent (a dumb broad), less rational (women drivers), less logical (woman's logic), or merely distracted (a dizzy blonde). She is by definition feminine. Call her masculine and you insult her. Call her productive and you mean she has children. Call her aggressive, ambitious, competitive and you mean the way she plays bridge, pushes her husband's career, seeks to increase their mutual possessions. There are many characteristics of femininity, of course, including those associated with physical attractiveness, but the list above will serve for the present chapter.

The stereotype does not disappear if you think of her as a "woman who works," which is not the same thing as "career woman." It is still unattractive in her to be competitive, ambitious or aggressive--and she is suspect if "successful." Characteristics that are flattering when found in men who work become radically unflattering in her. Media Women of New York have put the matter forcefully in a list of traits that Robin Morgan has included under "Historical Documents" in SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL. Not without flinching, I quote the entire document. It is called How to Name Baby:

CHAPTER 5

IF A PERSON IS:	CALL HER:	CALL HIM:
Ingratiating	Sweet	Ass-Licker
Supportive	Bright	Yes-Man
Intelligent	Helpful	Smart
Helpful	Good Girl	Helpful
Innovative	Pushy	Original
Insistent	Hysterical	Persistent
Tough	Impossible	Go-Getter
Cute & Timid	A Sweetheart	A Fairy
Sexy	A Piece	Handsome
Dumb	Not Too Bright	An Idiot
Plain Looking	Homely, Ugly	no comment
Successful	Ball-Breaker Up-Tight Hard Dame Bitch The Only Successful Woman I've Ever Met	Successful
Who Isn't A-----	(Ball-Breaker, Up-Tight, Hard Bitch, etc.)	
Politically Involved Supportive, Helpful Ingratiating, Passive,	Over-Emotional	Committed
Gentle	A Real Woman	A Minister's Son
Invisible	Nice Chick	Never Heard of Him

Hovering as a shadow just beyond the glare of such obvious stereotypes is the more subtle assumption, no less harsh for being hidden, about the reasons women work, as compared to why men work. The image of the woman who works--the college women preparing to work, even the professional women with many years in on the job--is of a person who wants, in David Reisman's phrase, "marriage plus, not career minus." A great many people today, including conservatives and liberals, reformers and radicals, will agree to the principle of equal pay for equal work and the proposition that women, like minority groups, should "have their rights," yet entertain an amendment in the backs of their minds. Catch-22, the shadow stereotype in the background, is that such rules apply for as long as women work and "only" so long, the assumption being that work for women is less permanent than work for men, therefore less important, less self-defining for them, less central to their lives.

Thus women today may be urged to hold off their demands until those of minority groups are met--meaning the demands of men in minority groups. Women may be discouraged from pushing for more jobs in an already tight job economy--meaning they are taking "men's jobs" away. (One ASA respondent, male, added this resentful note to the top of his return:

> I was recently not hired because the department wanted to increase the number of women faculty. Both women are not married. And I have a family to support. What do I tell my family when there [sic] is no work after the years of hardship? (738))

A woman may be advised against graduate school as a poor investment, or turned down as an applicant for graduate school, or not hired for a job when an equally qualified man is available, or if hired, given the tasks to do that others can easily replace her in (teaching undergraduates, advising freshmen)--all because of the shadow stereotype in the minds of those who advise, accept, hire or assign: i.e., they think of women who work as temporary. They assume women are not as serious about their careers as men are, that they will not make as good use of their educations as men do, that they will not produce as much research, that they do not want to be "anyone important" (as Sally in Peanuts says) so will not do the "important" things to advance their work and the world's.

One cannot probe the shadow-stereotype for long without discovering that it reaches outside the university into the home, into the society at large, into basic assumptions about the roles (i.e., places) men and women ought to have in society. For the shadow-stereotype is really the place-stereotype--"A woman's place is in the home"--in disguise. Today, with so fresh a memory in American minds of that other famous folk saying, "I like the Negro in his place," the place-stereotype for women will not be stated so blatantly, at least not in academic circles. It will appear instead in a term like "faculty wives" (there are no "faculty husbands") or titles of courses called "Sex Roles." It will surface in somebody's interest in knowing what a professional woman's husband "does" (meaning "does for a living;" nobody asks a man what his wife "does"). It will show up in the concern over whether the woman's career creates "competition" not only between them on the job but even in their marriage (nobody's business if it did). It will create curiosity about the unhappy children of the working woman and the unhappy husband. Does he have to help with housework and child care not in keeping with his role (his place)? Can the wife manage her role (her place) as wife and mother and housekeeper and her professional role besides? (Men are husbands and fathers too, but the question is seldom asked of them.)

All of the stereotypes I have just described appeared on the two Postscript questions of the ASA Questionnaire, both of which were reproduced from a questionnaire sent to the faculty of the University of California, Davis. Like the document by the Media Women, the first Postscript question contrasted a set of traits regarded as "ideal" with the same traits when found in women who work. The second Postscript question presented stereotyped attitudes about women who work in universities in statements similar to those I have just described, and asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed. The difference is that the Postscript questions, composed by the California-Davis women's commission, approached their subject not in the spirit of caricature but with the deadpan seriousness of social scientists.

That is to say, the stereotypes presented in the document by the Media Women and to an extent my own paragraphs do not describe what women really are, nor even what men think they are. They are caricature. But like all caricature, they do point toward the truth, they draw from reality--what some people actually do believe, what others accept in part, what some try to create, what others are insulted by. One man's archetype is another man's cliché. Or another woman's. The words "archetype" and "role" and "ideal type" flatter; the words "stereotype" and "place" (and perhaps "typical") insult. Caricature is useful for bringing stereotypes into focus from behind their various guises in the shadows of language. We are involved here in linguistic politics, a form of sexual politics: in order to force awareness of their hidden assumptions upon those unwilling to relinquish them--unwilling even to pay attention sometimes (like the man who said, "I'm not against women's equality, I just don't want to read about it")--it is sometimes useful to adopt the unyielding, unsympathetic stance of the caricaturist. Satire will not make the satirist popular with the satirized, but it may succeed in raising their consciousness; at the very least, it may get them to listen.

In this light, it seems to me the Postscript questions might be seen as a higher form of satire or caricature. I do not wish to press that intent upon the Task Force on the Status of Women at California-Davis that composed the questionnaire, since I have no idea whether they had any such thing in mind; the cover letter accompanying the questions, which were sent to all faculty members and a sample of faculty wives, suggests otherwise. (The questionnaire is identified as an "attitude survey" and the cooperation of respondents is asked so that "an accurate picture of faculty opinion" may be secured.) But my own intent in adding these four pages as a postscript to the ASA questionnaire was, I confess, in part satirical. I was impressed by the willingness of the framers of these questions to risk confronting their

colleagues with statements this direct, which some of them would find accusing. That there were prejudices in their readers' minds, I did not doubt; that such an attempt should be made to unveil these attitudes while presuming upon their scholarly disinterest involved more cheek than I thought they could get by with. Even the awkwardness in the wording of some of the questions seemed to me to suggest that the veneer of academic prose would not quite conceal the caricature beneath.

Nor was I persuaded that the information obtained in this fashion would be scientifically reliable. I am not a social scientist (I was once a whiz-bang math-and-science major but left when advised that I could never do anything with my passion but teach elementary school); in this chapter, I settle for reporting what we found and leave to the more expert and the more daring to judge whether larger generalizations than those provided can be made. It seemed to me, among other things, that the intense emotional involvement of the respondents and their eagerness to avoid being caught having sexist biases was bound to distort their answers. But whatever the answers might be, I thought the questions alone were interesting. It seemed to me they would provide what used to be called, when I was young, an "object lesson" in a painless and rather intriguing way. I excerpted them and added them to our questionnaire for this reason.

I was not altogether prepared for the response. This was partly because I never did give the test to myself and so never departed from my own attitude of aloof, critical, slightly bemused, detachment. This was a mistake. Mea culpa. Any reader who has come this far and not yet read the questions is urged to stop now and give himself or herself the "test" (on pp. xiv & 97ff), answering in all seriousness according to the directions given.

In terms of the content of the questions, I was impressed by the cognizance of recent scholarship in the choice of language as well as in the ideas themselves. One of the primary tasks of feminist scholarship, I assume, is to provide an encompassing view of what the life of the woman who works is and is not like, can be or cannot be when measured against the prevailing myths and stereotypes. In Chapter Two, it was noted that a great many studies are now contributing toward this aim. Psychological studies are testing out certain character traits; sociological studies are investigating the effects of social roles upon these traits and the choices women make; and so on. The Davis questions seemed to make good use of the findings, to the point of using the actual words in their phrasings. For example, I find it significant that Florence Howe in her "Report on Women and the Profession" to MLA last year took the time to single out one of Helen Astin's findings:

> Mrs. Astin . . . speculates that the same characteristics ("aggressiveness, candor, or competitiveness") that may account for "greater productivity" account also for those women's "readiness to voice their opinions and express their disapproval of discriminatory practices."
> (COLLEGE ENGLISH, May 1971, p. 948.)

These same traits--aggressiveness, competitiveness, productivity--turn up on Postscript One. So does "masculinity," which attitude surveys have been probing at least since Betty Friedan in THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE made an issue of the word as applied to career women. Also to be found in the questionnaire are such "masculine" traits as ambition, independence, and (presumably as antonyms of woman's emotionality) logic, rationality, and critical habits of thought. Myths about the family lives and professional relationships of women who work in universities show up in Postscript Two, where may be found as well questions about issues discussed in the previous chapters--investigated this time not in terms of what studies show is true but in terms of what people think is true about women in universities.

On the ASA Questionnaire, both of the Postscript questions were preceded by a comment that may well have affected the answers given by ASA respondents

"Stereotypes: Below is a section of a questionnaire being used at the University of California, Davis. We thought it would be interesting to see what ASA members themselves would do with it."

The comment was intended to alert respondents, without quite giving the show away, that the questionnaire itself was a document of interest to people in American Studies. I also thought to impose a game-like atmosphere upon the exercise, in order to take the edge off the demeaning aspects of answering.

There was one respondent from Atlanta--he teaches in the English department at Georgia Tech--who got the point; he wrote at the top of the page, "keep tongue in cheek, I hope" (541). I am grateful to him: he is proof that my attempt at "humor" did not entirely bomb. But Georgia Tech's was the only marginal comment by a male (the women were not really bothered by the question and most went ahead and answered without marginal comment at all) that suggested any appreciation of my comic intent. Perhaps it is just as well; it has taken some years to get men and women both to take the issues (and women) seriously; it may be too much to ask so soon that they recover a sense of humor. In any event, for many remaining respondents, my comment did indeed tip them off to the fact that some sort of reaction to the very act of responding was in order, but I must say their reaction was often very different from what I'd expected.

POSTSCRIPT ONE: TYPICAL VS. IDEAL

The first of the Postscript questions asked respondents to describe a "Typical Female Faculty Member" according to "first impression" by "placing an x along each dimension in the appropriate area" between the extremes of a continuum--between warm and cool, tense and calm, passive and aggressive, dependent and independent, etc. Then, having done so and turned the page, respondents discovered they were next being asked to describe an "Ideal Faculty Member (Male or female)" according to the very same scale.

What happens as the individual attempts to respond? Assuming an agreement to participate, the first shock of dismay probably is the discovery of an inability to focus the mind's eye on a character suitable to fulfill the role of "Typical Female Faculty Member." Among ASA respondents, over 25 specifically objected to the concept of "typical" in the female faculty they had known:

> There are no typical human beings (543)
>
> I've tried to answer this but I find I can't generalize about the women on our faculty (574)
>
> I really don't think we have any "typical" female faculty. We have all kinds; that makes the world interesting. (737)
>
> This whole typical business seems to me ridiculous. (582)
>
> This presupposes there are typical people (598)

Why the difficulty in describing the stereotype? Seven women out of the 85 pointed out that their problem was they had not known enough women faculty members to allow a "type" to have formulated in their minds; not one of the 230 men mentioned the fact of too few female faculty as a reason for resisting the question. Three of these seven women had actually never had a woman teacher or known any, two more said they had not had enough to allow generalization, one said she would have to base her answer on the only two professors she remembered ("both excellent," she threw in) and the last reported being so desperate for an example that she would have to use herself as the basis for answering.

More important as a factor explaining the inability to focus upon a "type" is the very fact that women are not supposed to be faculty members at all in the mythic imagination of Americans. They do not show up in such a role in comic strips, popular literature, television drama; certainly not in children's books (as Elizabeth Fisher and Alleen Nilson tell the tale; see Part III), where the cult of the apron reigns supreme. Thus even if one is surrounded by female faculty, they become "invisible" as types for there is little to provide imaginative form, even as caricature. I know what an Indian swami looks like even if I've never seen one; I can describe the character traits of a secret agent, male or female, even if I've never met one. Male professors have a life in the literature of American stereotypes extending from the immigrant German professor (or just The Professor; ask any kid who watches Saturday morning television cartoons or Saturday late-night horror movies) to the pipe-smoking tweedie on campus today. There is no comparable stereotype of a Typical Female Faculty Member in our popular art and culture.

Even after the respondent is able, if possible, to settle upon a vague mental image of such a type, the idea of reducing her to a set of traits marked on a scale may seem repugnant. It will seem demeaning to her but even more (so the responses suggest) to the person doing the marking, especially if he is male. He may rebel by attacking the question and the questioner:

> Forgive me but I think a question like this damns someone no matter how it is answered (522)
>
> This is a ludicrously transparent questionnaire. It's like asking whether you're a racist. (632)
>
> . . . disabling wrong assumptions that put it in a class with "when did you stop beating your wife?" (638)
>
> I find this an insulting questionnaire and can only respond neutrally on most questions, since the whole typical business seems to me ridiculous. (582)
>
> The questionnaire types women just by its existence. (29--a woman)
>
> You are fishing for stereotypes . . . If someone doesn't have them in mind, you force his answers into stereotyped patterns (654)
>
> By setting up polar opposites, you force stereotyping. (572)
>
> One judges not from stereotypes but from actual persons. (555)
>
> Some colleagues I have a difficult time thinking of as persons--and they make up questionnaires like this one (546)
>
> I don't think in terms of stereotypes. I'm concerned with quality, regardless of sex. (557)
>
> Humans are neither center (bland) nor extremes (polarized). (565)
>
> I find such questions highly subjective and unreliable . . . it is a mania for computerizing human life. (600)

The last comment is especially apt. Many of the men rebelled because they thought they were being tricked or trapped into exposing latent sexism. Some men and women both rebelled because they opposed stereotypes as such--e.g., "all stereotypes are dumb--who cares?" (53); "I can rate individuals along such a scale but object to the implied stereotype" (580). But others, and probably many of the above as well, recognized that their rebellion was

against the process of dehumanization imposed by the question itself, especially the scaling system. (Still, there were others who have been so conditioned to marking such scales by now that they imposed their own refinements upon it to give more exact answers, several commenting on the absence of an exact middle point.) In a letter, Commissioner Bob Merideth remarked, "Part of the objection may be objection to the demeaning process that such quantification always reflects, not simply chauvinism. Something to be encouraged I think." I heartily concur.

Some of the protest against the question was too generalized to be attributed to this particular reason--unless perhaps a resistance to being a pawn in a "game" is really the same kind of protest--yet the expletives are vivid and quotable:

"What on earth are you thinking of?" (503)
"This is nonsense" (518)
"This is much ado" (528)
"I can't play this kind of game" (548)
"Oh come on--" (536)
"I consider this generally nonsensical" (564a)
"I won't play this stereotype game" (548)
"I don't buy" (572)
"Impossible!" (20)
"I can't believe you would play this game" (586)
"God forbid" (557a)
"Seems inappropriate" (588)
"Absurd!" (716)
"I am dismayed at this" (638)
"Betty, for God's sake--!" (723)
"WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS NONSENSE??!! --Good old California!" (76)

In all, 42 persons protested this question alone, of which 39 refused to answer at all, the remaining three and five others answering one or the other half of it (explaining the variations in numbers below).

Yet we come around, as we did at the end of the previous chapter, to the recognition that for all the sound and fury, the protest vote on even this question is the voice of the minority. Most of the respondents--5 out of every 6 women and 3 of every 4 men--answered without a murmur! From their answers we took a sampling, using the first 234 questionnaires (167 men, 67 women); after those who did not answer or whose responses were not applicable were eliminated, about 125 men and 50 women (some variations for each question) remained to provide Kathryn Domurath, Research Assistant, with data for the following profile of the Typical Female Faculty Member as compared to The Ideal.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY, TYPICAL VS. IDEAL FACULTY MEMBER

KEY: D=disparity *highest number for this sex
DD=wide disparity **highest number for both sexes

A. tense								calm	
IDEAL	men	1%	5%	17.5%	=23.5%total)	23%	36%*	17.5%	n=124
	women	0%	0%	14%	= 14%total)	29%	41%**	16%	n=49
		D	D	D		DD	DD		
TYPICAL	men	6%	28%**	28%**	=62%total)	24%	22%	2%	n=118
	women	6%	27%*	27%*	=60%total)	26%	16%	6%	n=48

The percentages show that men and women like their ideal to be quite calm. Both find the typical faculty woman falling short by a good measure. She is too tense, in the opinion of both but especially of the women, since the women want calm in their ideal more than men do.

B. passive								aggressive
IDEAL men	1%	2%	10%	=13%total)	50%**	35%	1%	n=128
women	0%	0%	14%	=14%total)	46%*	32%	8%	n=50
			D					
TYPICAL men	4%	7%	23%	=34%total)	42%**	11%	9%	n=119
women	0%	13%	30%	=33%total)	24% DD	35%*DD	8%	n=48

Both men and women want the faculty woman to be more aggressive, less passive, than they find her to be. Note that the women think she is more aggressive--or near-aggressive--than the men think she is. Calm is regarded as a virtue but passivity clearly is not. This raises the question, how can the woman be both too tense and too passive? not calm enough and yet not aggressive enough? A potential inconsistency, except of course that tense and passive are the unflattering terms in the choices, and they are the only choices given.

C. dependent								independent
IDEAL men	0%	0%	6%	(94%total=	20%	48.5%**	25.5%	n=126
women	0%	0%	2%	(98%total=	14%	40%	44%*D	n=50
TYPICAL men	1%	2%	14%	(83%total=	27%	45%**	10%	n=126
women	0%	8%	14%	(74%total=	22%	34%* D	22%	n=48

Both men and women prefer strongly independent faculty members, the women insisting upon fierce independence in their ideal. The typical woman does not fall as short of the ideal in men's eyes because they do not ask for as much independence as the women do. But both urge even greater independence upon her than the generous degree she already has.

D. emotional								logical
IDEAL men	0%	4%	6%	(90%total=	33%	42%**	15%	n=124
women	0%	2%	17%	(81%total=	40%*	27% D	14%	n=50
					D	D		
TYPICAL men	1%	10%	17%	(72%total=	35%**	33%	4%	n=113
women	4%	17%	19%	(60%total=	29%*	25%	6%	n=48

Men like slightly less emotion, more logic in their ideal than women do and so find the typical woman falling short more than women do, although the women also score her as too emotional--logical more than emotional (defying the stereotype) but not logical enough.

E. feminine								masculine
IDEAL men	3%	2.5%	30.5%	= 36%total)	53.5%**	8%	2.5%	n=100
women	0%	4.5%	40%D	=44.5%total)	49%*	4.5%	2%	n=44
			DD		DD			
TYPICAL men	15%	27%	29%	= 71%total)	19%	6%	4%	n=117
women	15%	10%	34%	= 59%total)	29% D	10%	2%	n=41

Both men and women like more masculinity than femininity in their ideal type (the men slightly more), yet neither finds the woman as stereotypically masculine as she is supposed to be. However, note that the number who answered on this scale is lower because 20% of the respondents felt it was "meaningless" or "pointless" or put "?" in the margins since they assumed all males were by definition masculine, all females feminine. If others agreed, the figures are partly distorted.

F. irrational							rational	
IDEAL men	0%	1%	4%	= 5%total)	17%	34%	44%**	n=117
women	0%	2%	2%	= 4%total)	20%	40%*	36%	n=50
TYPICAL men	0%	3%	17%	=20%total)	32%	43%	5%	n=119
women	4%D	2%	17%	=23%total)	31%	38%	8%	n=48

There is little disagreement here between sexes (1) that extreme rationality is a virtue in faculty members and (2) that at the far extremes, women fall short of this high ideal (though men might as well). While enough men and women found her irrational (as the stereotype says) to be noticeable, she yet defies the cliché to the extent that both sexes find her far more rational than not.

G. unproductive							productive	
IDEAL men	1%	1%	3%		9%	37%	49%*	n=120
women	0%	0%	2%		10%	36%	52%**	n=50
TYPICAL men	1%	8%D	13%		25%	33%	16%	n=121
women	2%	0%	8%		33%	36%**	21%	n=47

Both men and women find their ideal far more productive than they think typical faculty women are, confirming the stereotype even if we assume they would find faculty men falling short of the ideal as well. On the actual productivity of women, see studies by Astin, Harmon, etc. cited in Chapter Two.

H. open							closed	
IDEAL men	42%*	28%	15%		12%	3%	0%	n=120
women	48%**	31%	13%		7%	0%	0%	n=46
TYPICAL men	10%D	23%	29%*		25%	12%	3%	n=116
women	22%D	30%**	20%		17%	9%	2%	n=46

Both men and women would like female faculty to be more "open" than they are, the men at the far left especially finding the typical woman falling far below the ideal of openness they admire.

I. demanding							accepting	
IDEAL men	4%	24%	37%		27%	6%	2%	n=123
women	8%	21%	21%D		31%D	15%D	4%	n=48
TYPICAL men	2%	15%	33%		38%D	11%D	1%	n=125
women	14%	17%	27%		17%	19%D	6%	n=48

There is more disagreement over this scale than any other, over both what is typical and what is ideal, the women disagreeing with each other slightly more on both. An almost even distribution through the middle ranges must mean little agreement on whether it is better for a teacher to be demanding or accepting (the women are 50-50 where the men are 65-45), yet as measured against their ideals, the men find the typical woman a bit too accepting, not sufficiently demanding (confirms the stereotype: she is 50%, they want 65%) while women find she measures up well--if anything, 8% too demanding.

J. ambitious								unambitious
IDEAL men	12%	41%**	33%	=86%total)	10%	3%	1%	n=122
women	16%	31%[D]	36%*	=83%total)	13%	4%	0%	n=49
TYPICAL men	8%	25%	30%**	=63%total)	24%	11%	2%	n=118
women	19%[D]	23%	27%*	=69%total)	23%	8%	0%	n=48

The totals in the middle of the chart tell the story: men and women alike want ambitious faculty and both find women short of this mark. According to stereotype, ambition in women is unseemly but the probability that male respondents answered to avoid insulting women is negated by the fact that the women's assessment is very much the same. The likelier conclusion is that, except for the percentage at the far left that finds women already too ambitious, most men and women feel faculty women should be more ambitious than they are.

K. cooperative								competitive
IDEAL men	24%	23%	24%	=71%total)	2[illegible]%	3%	2%	n=12[illegible]
women	32%	22%	27%	=81%total)	1[illegible]%	4%	2%	n=50
TYPICAL men	12%	29%**	23%	=64%total)	26%	5%	5%	n=119
women	15%	22%	22%	=59%total)	25%*	6%	10%	n=48

The totals in the middle measure the disappointment of women with their own sex for not being sufficiently cooperative, for being too competitive, as measured against their ideal. Men want more cooperative faculty too, but not as much as women do--they will allow more of the competitive urge, and since they find faculty women already more competitive than cooperative, their stereotype does not fall short of their ideal. Might she be too competitive "for a woman" in their eyes? That isn't the point; from the measure given, except for the men who want extreme cooperativeness in faculty and find she does fall short, the overall vote of the men is that she emerges close to perfect on this abstract scale.

This final pairing of traits elicited more comment than any others, with seven men and two women calling attention to the fact that "cooperative" and "competitive" were not mutually exclusive, not opposites, or that both traits were desirable in the ideal. Although competitiveness is one of the traits that is often regarded as a positive in men but negative in women, its presence here as a companion to cooperativeness suggests a pair of "polar opositives" that should be familiar to any student of democracy and American culture--versions of the polarity between "freedom" and "equality" as the two extremes of the democratic ideal.

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Before summarizing the overall portrait of the faculty woman that emerges from these comparisons, it is well to repeat the doubts about the reliability of the answers given by respondents, some of whom may have been answering so as to avoid being caught at sexist attitudes themselves, some of whom were not clear on whether they should have been reporting on facts or types ("The question fails to distinguish between 'felt' responses and factual data" --571), and some of whom played games with the scale system--especially after they turned to the second page--by checking answers right down the middle willy-nilly. (Some of the latter cases were discarded.) Had a third scale been added, for a typical male faculty member, there would no doubt have been a better basis for generalizing on the extent to which characteristics flattering to men are regarded as unflattering to women. As it was, it may be hoped that the very act of comparing served as something of an "object lesson" to remind or alert the readership to that fact.

These qualifications apart and allowing a large margin for possible error, what generalizations can we make on the summary portrait in these responses? Comparing the typical faculty woman to the ideal, ASA members found her: too tense by far, somewhat too emotional, aggressive but not aggressive enough, independent but not independent enough, quite feminine although they prefer more masculinity in their ideal, rational but not as extremely rational as they want the ideal to be, productive but not nearly productive enough, too closed--she should be more open, just about right as far as being accepting or demanding is concerned, ambitious but not ambitious enough, too competitive already (or not sufficiently cooperative) as far as women were concerned but the right combination of competitive and cooperative as far as the men liked it. There may be some difficulties for the faculty woman in living up to all that is asked of her--to be calmer, less tense and less "closed," yet more aggressive, ambitious and independent, for example--but that may be inevitable in the striving for human perfection. Let us conclude with the generalization that in some respects the typical woman falls short of the ideal in precisely the way the stereotypes predict she would (that is, as a woman she falls short of what are assumed to be masculine traits) and in some respects, she falls short as all human beings fall short of any ideal. And let us leave it at that.

POSTSCRIPT TWO: AGREE OR DISAGREE? STRONGLY?

At first glance, the method used in the final section of the questionnaire for determining attitudes brings to mind the story of the kindergarten teacher who asked the children during an outing whether a tree they came upon was an oak or an elm; when nobody volunteered an answer, one little boy proposed, "Let's vote on it!" Some things can't be voted on, yet in Postscript Two, respondents were asked to vote agreement or disagreement with what often looked like statements of fact. There is always something unnerving about such "attitude surveys." They leave the impression either that respondents have a right to decide for themselves what is true on the basis of personal opinion or that the questioners are out to trap them into showing their ignorance, inconsistency, or latent sexism. While some such suspicions were indeed aroused, as evidenced in the way individual questions were amended, Postscript Two evoked much less protest on the whole (only six refused to answer) than Postscript One. For the most part, the barbed comments were reserved for individual questions.

Sometimes these comments were aimed at the content of the statement, (especially if the respondent strongly disagreed), but oftener they were objections to the phrasing, or objections that might have been met had the phrasing been changed. Earlier I mentioned my own sensitivity to the aspects of caricature implicit in statements like these. The California questioners must have been aware of the greater sophistication of their audience and the likelihood that familiarity with the rhetoric of women's liberation might trigger conditioned-reflex responses from them rather than real opinions. To some extent, this must have happened anyway, but it is to their credit that they sought to avoid it. One can imagine the struggle to find the right academese to avoid tipping the question. For instance, #38 refers to becoming conscious of a faculty woman as a "sexual person"--a term that sounds like a cross between "sexual object" and "feminine person" or "female person." Question #16, managing to avoid the word role, came out especially awkwardly: "The husband of an academic woman is often forced to perform domestic duties that should not be his responsibility." It is known that there is real concern over the basic issue here, to the point that many academic women will put in sixteen-hour days rather than have their husbands feel "forced" to undertake the less attractive aspects of housework (or aspects still stereotyped as women's work), but given the way the question is worded, who would answer "Agree"? (Only 8% did.) What if the question had been, "Academic women are often uneasy when their husbands perform domestic duties that have been heretofor regarded as the woman's responsibility"? Now we have tipped the question the other way,

and it would probably have pulled in a heavier vote of "Agrees." Other choices of language might also be questioned, as we shall see. Unhappy respondents called some wordings "fuzzy," "vague," "weasel-words" and "gross generalizations," and two opined wistfully:

> You can't distinguish objective responses from sexist responses. This is true of a number of these /besides #27/. (583)
>
> I suppose these things mean something but I have my doubts. (564)

One last comment before turning to the questions themselves. In Part III, a commencement address by David Reisman is included that touches upon a good many of the issues covered in Postscript Two, but in language that presumes a very different (I would say "conservative") bias from that which appears in the questions, which I would describe as "mainstream liberationist." To determine which reading of both fact and opinion is the appropriate one is not always as easy as it may appear. For example, Reisman cites as a "rudimentary" piece of evidence to support his contention that more college women probably want "marriage plus, not career minus" an opinion poll of National Merit Scholarship winners that has college girls stating their desire to combine marriage with their careers and believing optimistically in their ability to do so. Here the evidence could be read exactly the other way: women who were quite sure they were going to "do something" with their lives (careers) but were not so sure they could also marry (persons like myself, twenty years ago) are today likely to feel they might indeed be able to pull it off--but this is a case of "career plus," not "marriage plus." One reason "role models" have become so important to college girls is that they find proof that it can be done. Readers should be alerted that other two-way readings may be involved in the report that follows, and Mrs. Domurath and I are aware that we may not be able to cover them all. The numbering system follows that of the Davis questionnaire.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY ON POSTSCRIPT TWO WITH QUALIFICATIONS AND COMMENT

Compiled by C.C. Kleinsorge and Kathy Domurath

Statement		Responses (in percentages)				
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree	
1. MANY QUALIFIED WOMEN CAN'T GET GOOD JOBS, ALTHOUGH MEN WITH THE SAME SKILLS HAVE LESS TROUBLE.	Women	54%	33%	11%	2%	n=46
	Men	32%	56%	10%	2%	n=154
	Both	38%	50%	10%	2%	n=200

--About 90% agreement among both men and women but women agree more strongly; the percentage of women strongly agreeing equals almost exactly that of the men agreeing (& vice versa).

--Only two qualifications, one to the effect that not just women but everyone is having trouble these days, the other insisting "women now have the advantage" over men.

2. IN MY OPINION, CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS ARE NOT AS WELL ADJUSTED AS CHILDREN OF NON-WORKING MOTHERS.	Women	4%	2%	47%	47%	n=43
	Men	5%	21%	46%	28%	n=132
	Both	5%	16%	46%	33%	n=175

--Most disagreed, the women disagreeing strongly (almost half); about one-fourth of the men agreed, only 6% of the women.

--Three correctly added, "It depends" (see Myths, Chapter Two).

--Our Favorite Qualifier: "So who wants well-adjusted children?" (54)

4. MEN IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD ARE GENERALLY MORE CAREER ORIENTED THAN THEIR FEMALE COLLEAGUES.	Women	6%	40%	44%	10%	n=48
	Men	5%	52%	36%	7%	n=149
	Both	5%	48%	38%	9%	n=197

--Almost evenly divided between agree & disagree, little strong feeling either way; men and women very similar too, except slightly more than half of the men agree, slightly more than half of the women disagree. This stereotype appears to be one that does not hold any more, or people no longer believe it.

--3 qualified, agreeing with : "Too many women sell out and aren't willing to be aggressive about their careers" (561)

5. IN MY OPINION, IN THE TIGHT JOB MARKET SUCH AS WE HAVE NOW IN THE UNIVERSITIES, WOMEN REALLY HAVE NO BUSINESS PUSHING FOR INCREASED JOB OPPORTUNITIES.	Women	4%	0%	15%	81%	n=47
	Men	3%	3%	43%	51%	n=156
	Both	3%	2%	37%	58%	n=203

--Practically nobody fell for this one: 95% disagreed, half of the men and four-fifths of the women disagreeing with the statement strongly.

9. WOMEN SHOULD HOLD OFF MAKING DEMANDS UNTIL MORE OF THE DEMANDS OF MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS ARE MET.	Women	2%	0%	28%	70%	n=47
	Men	3%	3%	51%	43%	n=156
	Both	3%	2%	45%	50%	n=203

--Again the 95% disagreement, half of it strong, makes it clear that academics do not buy this stereotypsd view any more. But while half of the men merely disagree & less than half disagree strongly, 3/4 of women come on "strong" in their disagreement.

--One woman crossed off everything after "demands" (55)!

11. I WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO HIRE A WOMAN FOR A FACULTY POSITION BECAUSE SHE WOULD PROBABLY NOT STAY AS LONG AS A MAN.	Women	0%	8%	26%	65%	n=46
	Men	2%	4%	48%	46%	n=154
	Both	2%	5%	43%	50%	n=200

--Statistically very close to the previous answer, these responses again show about 95% disagreement, half of it "strongly," men divided between merely disagreeing or doing so strongly, women disagreeing more strongly than the men. It is obvious that the shadow-stereotype is being banished from the minds of ASA respondents.

13. WOMEN ARE PROBABLY NOT AS GOOD AT CRITICAL THINKING AS MEN.	Women	2%	2%	10%	86%	n=43
	Men	0%	6%	38%	56%	n=153
	Both	1%	5%	32%	62%	n=196

--Heavy disagreement, most of it strong--especially the women (but the Uncle Mom makes a larger percentage of "strongly agree" than the goose-egg from the men in this column). Another stereotype exposed.

14. FEMALE APPLICANTS FOR FACULTY POSITIONS SHOULD BE SOUGHT OUT AND GIVEN PREFERENCE UNTIL THEIR NUMBERS ON THE FACULTY APPROXIMATE THE # TRAINED IN THE FIELD.	Women	18%	36%	31%	15%	n=45
	Men	6%	34%	42%	18%	n=148
	Both	9%	35%	39%	17%	n=193

--An important question for determining where the real divisions of opinion are, this one divided respondents almost evenly, with slightly more disagreeing. The majority of men disagree, the majority of women agree, each sex having 18% voting "strongly" in "their" direction, although more answers tend to cluster in the middle ranges on this question. Since men now dominate in numbers on faculties and in the Association, we see where the power of resistance lies, but the battle lines are clearly drawn.

14. (Continued)

--Of the disagree vote, 13 of the men qualified or objected: "object to quota," "should be gradual," "why punish men?," "sought out but not given preference," "most qualified should have the job," "WOW!!" 5 women comment: "self-defeating," "all other things being equal," etc.

16. THE HUSBAND OF AN ACADEMIC WOMAN IS OFTEN FORCED TO PERFORM DOMESTIC DUTIES THAT SHOULD NOT BE HIS RESPONSIBILITY.	Women	2%	5%	40%	53%	n=43
	Men	1%	7%	57%	35%	n=129
	Both	1%	6%	53%	40%	n=172

--Most of both sexes disagree, the majority of women strongly while only one-third of the men said "strongly." Note a lower total number of replies, 11 persons objecting to the question, most on the grounds that it is "really two questions" or poorly worded.

17. SEXUAL TENSIONS ARE LIKELY TO CAUSE PROBLEMS WHEN WOMEN ARE ON THE FACULTY.	Women	4%	6%	43%	47%	n=47
	Men	2%	11%	56%	31%	n=152
	Both	2%	10%	53%	35%	n=199

--88% disagree, one-third of the men, one-half of the women disagreeing strongly. 11 qualified, either appalled or delighted/tickled by the statement, one saying sexual tensions "would cause problems anyway," another: "Yes, but so what?"

18. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WOMEN DO NOT HANDLE PROFESSIONAL STATUS WITH MUCH SOPHISTICATION AND RESTRAINT.	Women	4%	4%	19%	73%	n=48
	Men	1%	5%	49%	45%	n=151
	Both	1%	5%	42%	52%	n=199

--94% disagreed (of the few who agreed, there were more women than men!) but women disagreed more strongly than the men by far! They were furious with the notion! Qualifiers: "ambiguous," "gross generalization."

19. MEN WHO REGARD FACULTY WOMEN FAVORABLY USUALLY CHANGE THEIR MINDS WHEN THEY HAVE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM . . .	Women	5%	8%	42%	45%	n=40
	Men	1%	6%	55%	38%	n=144
	Both	2%	7%	52%	39%	n=184

--Most disagree--91% of them--the women more than the men, 2 qualifying.

20. PEOPLE TEND TO FIND HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL WOMEN PARTICULARLY THREATENING.	Women	22%	58%	11%	9%	n=45
	Men	6%	48%	33%	13%	n=147
	Both	10%	50%	28%	12%	n=192

--The temptation to qualify this statement was more than many could bear! The majority agreed with it but almost half of the men disagreed while only a fifth of the women did and ⅓ of the women--far more than the men--agreed with it strongly. One can guess the women's reasons--they have probably been hurt by those who felt threatened, men or women, by them; but why do the men deny the charge? One can speculate.

--23 qualified, mostly on the grounds that the statement doesn't say which people. Some wrote in "men," some "women." One: "competitive males," another: "any successful person can pose a threat" (728).

--Our Favorite Qualifier: "People who? Who am I supposed to read for 'people'--me? the great unwashed? President Nixon or D.P. Moynihan or Kate Millett or Germaine Greer or Bernadette Develin or John Wayne?" (546)

21. WOMEN FACULTY ARE MORE LIKELY TO TAKE A PERSONAL INTEREST IN STUDENTS THAN MEN.	Women	7%	33%	47%	13%	n=45
	Men	1%	23%	61%	15%	n=150
	Both	3%	25%	57%	15%	n=195

--About 2/3 disagree, but little strong disagreement either way, the women tending to agree more. A couple of qualifiers saying: "It depends."

23. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR FEMALE STUDENTS TO HAVE FEMALE FACULTY TO TURN TO.	Women	22%	57%	17%	4%	n=46
	Men	16%	51%	27%	6%	n=150
	Both	17%	53%	25%	5%	n=196

--70% agree, women stronger than men but both strong--much less strong negative than positive feeling. This is the "role model" issue, as the 3 male qualifiers noted (while agreeing). 3 women qualified, 2 saying (while disagreeing) that "both need both."

24. WOMEN TEND TO BE BETTER AT TEACHING YOUNGER UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS THAN AT TEACHING ADVANCED GRADUATE STUDENTS.	Women	2%	11%	61%	26%	n=46
	Men	1%	8%	64%	27%	n=146
	Both	1%	8%	64%	27%	n=192

--90% disagree, men and women similarly--¼ of both strongly. One man commented "pure sexism" & 2 women qualified. The argument on #21 and #24is something of a rationalization for the heavier loads of lower-level courses and advising on personal problems that has been documented for women in many departments (see MLA Study I.); it is interesting that so large a percentage disagreed on teaching skill (#24) as compared to personal interest (#21).

25. GRADUATE EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IS A POOR INVESTMENT SINCE THEY OFTEN DO NOT USE THEIR TRAINING	Women	0%	6%	40%	54%	n=48
	Men	3%	11%	53%	33%	n=153
	Both	2%	10%	50%	38%	n=201

--88% disagreed, women somewhat more strongly than men, the six qualifications adding levity to the moment: "PhD more garbage," "waste for everybody," "true for both sexes," "change the market situation and it won't be," and "Aarghh" (a woman).

26. FEW WOMEN ARE CAPABLE OF BEING GOOD WIVES, MOTHERS & PROFESSIONALS SIMULTANEOUSLY.	Women	2%	15%	37%	46%	n=48
	Men	3%	34%	34%	29%	n=155
	Both	3%	29%	34%	34%	n=203

--2/3 disagreed, including a large proportion of men, with almost half of the women vociferously disagreeing. 11 qualifiers, most linking the question to #43, saying it's hard for both. On #43:

43. FEW MEN ARE CAPABLE OF BEING GOOD HUSBANDS, FATHERS AND PROFESSIONALS SIMULTANEOUSLY.	Women	2%	7%	52%	39%	n=46
	Men	3%	21%	46%	30%	n=156
	Both	2%	18%	48%	32%	n=202

--80% disagreed, as compared to 68% for the question on the women, with men agreeing much more than the women and a larger percentage of women disagreeing strongly. Qualifiers by 13 respondents said, as above, it was tough for men and women alike or "as matters now stand," it was easier for men to do both. That men think women have it harder doing everything (yet insist to a degree that they have it hard) is not surprising but what are the women saying? Either that men have things a great deal easier--or maybe they're telling them, based on their personal experience, "Come on, fellows, you can do it if you try!"

27. GENERALLY SPEAKING, MY MOTHER WAS PROBABLY SMARTER THAN MY FATHER.	Women	5%	27%	63%	5%	n=41
	Men	4%	23%	62%	11%	n=122
	Both	4%	24%	62%	10%	n=163

--One respondent said; "none of your business," & others may have agreed for the number of replies is lower and the number of protests up: "I never took their I.Q.s" "dumb statement," "cheating-your-wife type statement" [??], and also: "both smart," "smart in different ways," etc. The respondent is right, such questions are an invasion of privacy and should not be asked, in my opinion, but of course they are asked all the time! In the present case, the aim was probably to test out the stereotype that

would have most people "read" their parents the other way around--the father is supposed to be smarter, and if he isn't a son will often feel embarrassed and not want to admit it. 3/4 of the respondents did disagree with the statement, with men and women close in their percentages and little "strong" feeling expressed either way, but of course they may have disagreed because they felt parents to be about equal.

28. ALL FACULTY SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO HOLD LESS THAN FULL TIME APPOINTMENTS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ELIGIBILITY FOR PROMOTION, TENURE, AND SABBATICAL LEAVE.

Women	5%	27%	63%	5%	n=41
Men	27%	36%	29%	8%	n=146
Both	22%	34%	36%	8%	n=187

--This answer held a surprise--a great discrepancy between answers by men and women but with a majority of men agreeing (over one-fourth strongly agreeing) and the majority of women disagreeing!

--Our Favorite Qualifier: "Full time is a drag anyway." (546)

DIGRESSION ON THE PART-TIME ISSUE: On a previous question, under #13, the inquiry into university policy on part-time had yielded a vote as follows: MEN 15% yes, 56% no, 28% no answer; WOMEN 10% yes, 37.5% no, 52% no answer--the high NA vote among women and high no votes by men raising our interest. Some comments helped to explain: "Part time is slave labor and much discouraged here" (33), "Part-time is financially penalized through no tenure or fringe benefits. This is where most women are" (23) In a letter accompanying his return, David Reisman says, "Here at Harvard, I supported less than full-time appointments for women but not for men, not wanting to create opportunities for moonlighting that would be grabbed by many men, with a dissipation of energies for teaching and colleagueship." (DR) The suggestion that protective legislation may be needed for women is one to consider (cf. the repeal of anti-nepotism rules to benefit administrators' relatives but not young marrieds in the same department), but why would not the same dangers Reisman describes be there for women?

For American Studies, the part-time issue is crucial, since one way to break the custom in hiring only in traditional departments might be to make it possible to earn time and benefits toward tenure through part-time work in American Studies that is not seen as slave labor. The situation for the ASA membership is probably close to that described in the MLA Report: 23% of the women in the sample had part-time appointments compared with 11% of the men; of all part-time faculty, 54% were women, as compared to the fact that women were 33% of full-time faculty. "As we all know, part-time faculty members get the least desirable assignments, are paid relatively less, advance more slowly--if at all--in rank, are the last hired and first fired. As is true elsewhere in the U.S. economy, women play a disproportionately large role in this least-rewarded, most uncertain part of the work force." (MLA Commission on Women, THE STATUS OF WOMEN: A SUMMARY, p. 4. See also the chapter on Resolutions in this volume.)

30. THE TRULY QUALIFIED WOMEN IN MY FIELD HAVE NO TROUBLE ACHIEVING RECOGNITION AND GETTING AHEAD.

Women	11%	13%	61%	15%	n=46
Men	5%	32%	51%	12%	n=148
Both	7%	27%	54%	12%	n=194

--This was a good question for testing biases, the results showing, however, a clear recognition that even truly qualified women have difficulty and face discrimination. Two-thirds disagreed, including a majority of the men (63%) and three-fourths of the women (76%).

--Our Favorite Qualifier: "I hope this is true" & then he voted agree!

31. PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE FOR PAID MATERNITY LEAVE FOR FEMALE FACULTY.	Women	29%	41%	23%	7%	n=44
	Men	18%	45%	29%	8%	n=153
	Both	21%	44%	27%	8%	n=197

--A majority agreed--more men agreeing than women (!), but the women feel more strongly about it. Five men objected to "paid" leaves, one said "pregnancy is not a right,"; a woman said "only if she will return in a year" while another said "not more than two children." Two men gave the same reply to explain their disagreement: "I don't wish to encourage reproduction."

32. WOMEN SHOULD BE CONSIDERED FOR FELLOWSHIPS AND OTHER SUPPORT WITHOUT CONSIDERATION OF THEIR MARITAL STATUS	Women	67%	29%	4%	0%	n=48
	Men	47%	49%	6%	3%	n=157
	Both	47%	44%	6%	2%	n=205

--Very strong agreement, with two-thirds of all women agreeing and 67% troubling to agree very strongly. Why do the women feel so strongly? See Chapter One.

33. PROFESSIONAL COMPETITION BETWEEN A HUSBAND AND WIFE IS BOUND TO BE HARMFUL TO A MARRIAGE.	Women	2%	18%	55%	25%	n=44
	Men	4%	18%	56%	22%	n=142
	Both	3%	19%	56%	22%	n=186

--The large majority disagreed, the sexes close on percentages. About one-fourth of each sex disagreed strongly. Some flak came on the qualifiers: "Is competition necessary?" "a bad question" "probably" "depends" "any professional competition is harmful" "not the university's business if it is."

37. ALL OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, IF CONFRONTED WITH A CHOICE BETWEEN A MALE AND FEMALE CANDIDATE FOR A FACULTY POSITION, I WOULD FAVOR THE MALE.	Women	2%	19%	46%	33%	n=43
	Men	3%	20%	53%	24%	n=139
	Both	3%	20%	51%	26%	n=182

--While about one-fourth admit they would favor the male, confirming Linda Fidell's findings, 77% denied it, the men and women quite close in their disagreement, the women slightly stronger. Of course, all other things are never equal and three qualifiers said so, but that evasion does not answer for the facts. Try comparing the answers to #14.

38. I GENERALLY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH A WOMAN IN A PROFESSIONAL CONTEXT WITHOUT BECOMING AWARE OF HER AS A SEXUAL PERSON.	Women	6%	6%	52%	36%	n=33
	Men	3%	28%	53%	16%	n=145
	Both	3%	24%	53%	20%	n=178

--Surely this was the funniest question on the whole questionnaire, especially for women (a low number of women responded), and 23 stopped to comment: "depends on her age," "can't not be conscious," "a dilemma of life," "depends on the woman," "If she's pretty I should hope so!" and "Send this guy to a psychiatrist." Only one-fourth of the total said they would be conscious of sex, few women agreeing (to be expected) and a strong percentage disagreeing, one-third of the men saying yes. The phrasing of the question is too insidious to invite agreement, yet it would be too bad if many felt the aim of women's liberation was to obliterate any sense of sexual awareness--whether of sisterhood with other women or recognition of difference from men. For faculty "work," of course, ideas and effort count and they have no sex.

44. HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO BOTH HAVE FACULTY POSITIONS ALWAYS END UP COMPETING WITH EACH OTHER, WHETHER THEY INTEND TO OR NOT.	Women	2%	2%	61%	35%	n=41
	Men	2%	11%	65%	22%	n=140
	Both	2%	9%	64%	25%	n=181

--87% disagreed, the women feeling more strongly about the issue again but both sexes expressing a large negative vote (the positive vote is mostly male). Five qualified: "only if in same department," "I hope they do compete," "bad question," "'always' questions are foolish."

45. WHEN FACULTY POSITIONS BECOME OPEN, THEY SHOULD ALWAYS BE LISTED PUBLICLY . . . SO THAT ALL INTERESTED PERSONS HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO APPLY.						
	Women	58%	38%	2%	2%	n=48
	Men	47%	35%	18%	5%	n=153
	Both	45%	36%	14%	5%	n=201

--This last question, which must have found respondents exhausted, gave a chance to register one last clear-cut strong opinion on an uncontroversial matter--and voters did. 81% agreed, practically all of the women and over half of them strongly at that. One man said "not feasible" and one-fourth of the men disagreed with the statement, but even then a strong three-fourths of the male vote was overpowering.

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It should hardly come as a surprise to those who have stayed through the entire double feature, Postscript One and Postscript Two, to learn that the women in ASA feel more strongly about matters than do the men--and on some of the issues, they feel very strongly indeed! Men and women both favor the new equality, however, and voted consistently against anti-feminist stereotypes whenever these were apparent in the statements. The paradox--potentially something worse--is that their recognition of inequity did not always lead them, especially the men, to vote for change when offered the opportunity, in Question #14 in particular. This finding is consistent with similar "perplexing" disparities in men's minds reported earlier, and I suspect this group of men may well represent a large segment of the American male population in universities at the present time. They are not Gore Vidal's M3 Man (See Part III, Reviews) but they do present the attributes of a new male stereotype of our time: ambivalent in their feelings on the women's movement, they combine good will with a curious ignorance--at least I hope it is only ignorance!--of which they seem to be unaware. They favor sexual equality, they concede women have been unfairly treated, yet they opposed HEW changes as unnecessary, they deny standard forms of discrimination at their own universities, they say "equity already exists," and they fail to vote even in favor of passing resolutions. They agree or disagree with current conventional wisdom in reacting to such statements as those covered in this chapter, but they seldom feel strongly about them.

(Elsewhere in this volume, on a course syllabus, will be found a passing reference to Zelda Fitzgerald's "husband F. Scott." In another place appears a reference to Leonard Woolf's "wife Virginia." Perhaps the man I am struggling to describe is the one who would find the first reference incongruously funny and not even notice the second at all.)

CF. CALIFORNIA-DAVIS RESULTS

As we go to press, I have received a call from Ruth Dixon of the commission that composed the questions used on Postscripts I & II. The California-Davis questionnaire was answered by about 600 men and 45 women, with the results now in the process of being analyzed. However, it is apparent that the protest against the Typical/Ideal Question (PSI) was very similar to ours, with 20% non-respondents and some strongly-worded comments of resistance--too strong perhaps, raising for them as for me (in the Thunder chapter) the question of whether the gentlemen did protest too much, and why. The California-Davis respondents were much more conservative on key questions than ASA respondents, however (possibly due to the "heavily agricultural orientation" of the college area, if I understand it right), so that on PSII, #14, for example, 18% of the men and 52% of the 45 women agreed (as compared to 40% of ASA men and 54% of ASA women) that female faculty should be given preference until balance is achieved; on #30, 2/3 of the men and 45% of the women (as compared to only 37% of ASA men and 24% of ASA women) agreed that truly qualified women have no difficulty getting recognition. On the part-time question, half of the women and 3/4 of the men in California agreed--quite different from ASA results. Finally, so far as is apparent to date, the California men also did well on "recognizing and rejecting stereotypes and seemed willing to say that the role performance of women is good--that is, that women can perform all tasks at all levels in the university as well as men--and yet they resist making policy changes" that would bring about equity! This would confirm my description above of the new male stereotype who is for equality but against change.

resolutions

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

RESOLUTIONS ON WOMEN

To be presented by the Commission on the Status of Women
to the American Studies Association Executive Council

October, 1971.

These resolutions express the responsible concern of the American Studies Association with improving the status of women in the profession. We need not reiterate the much-documented assertion that professional women have been mistreated through blatant discriminatory practices, as well as through disregard and subtle damage to self-image and incentive. Reports from individual campuses, professional societies, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare tell and retell the dismal tale of unequal treatment. We wish to move beyond such statements to action, to align ourselves with those professional societies which are examining the role of women in academic life--the Modern Language Association, the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, the various social science groups, and the American Association of University Professors. Like them, we pledge ourselves to an affirmative course of action that will give women the rights, opportunities, and rewards too long denied.

Our resolutions are of two kinds. First, we suggest general guidelines to equalize and improve the position of women in the profession--these parallel the resolutions made by other disciplines and reveal what we have in common. Second, we suggest a course of action especially suited to and designed for the American Studies Association--these reveal our unique opportunities and responsibilities. As an interdisciplinary group concerned centrally with the various and diverse facets of American life, we are in a unique position to contribute to an understanding of the American woman from the perspective of the American past, and to point to her possibilities and rights in the future.

PART I: GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND PRACTICES

We hereby resolve that the American Studies Association supports the following university policies and practices:

1. ADMISSIONS AND COUNSELING. Women should be treated equally with men in admission and recruitment to American Studies programs, at the graduate as well as undergraduate level. Preferential admission to men of lesser qualification than women applicants must cease, and college counselors must cease advising women against entering these programs.

2. GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS. Women should be treated equally with men in consideration for grants and fellowships. Since the number and percentage of grants in American Studies awarded to women has been singularly low in the past, all persons in American Studies involved in decisions over grants should make extraordinary efforts to achieve equalization in this area.

3. HIRING. We endorse the principle of equal consideration in hiring.

   a. Dossiers of applicants for positions should be treated equally, without regard to sex, marital status, or children.

   b. Whenever the credentials of a woman match or exceed those of a male competitor, the woman should be given the offer. This policy should remain in effect until the ratio of women on the faculty approximates the ratio of women students in programs with terminal degrees. At all times in the future the ratio of women on the faculty should approximate the ratio of women in programs with terminal degrees.

   c. The ASA programs in the United States and abroad should actively seek out qualified women by making statements about their policy in their recruiting activities. Since the failure to post and publicize job openings represents a subtle form of discrimination against women, every effort should be made to circulate information about openings as widely as possible so that available women have the opportunity to apply and be seriously considered. Women in the ASA Women's Directory (see Resolution #16) should be notified of position openings for which they are qualified.

4. PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT. Since prejudices against part-time employment make it difficult for women to fill roles demanded by society and by their professions; and since men who wish to fulfill both professional and family roles are prevented from doing so by rigid practices demanding a full-time devotion to profession and the relegation of family duties to their wives;

   and since the current status of American Studies programs on many campuses is such that only part-time positions are available, forcing persons who wish to teach American Studies to enter full-time through traditional departments in which they may not wish to teach;

   a. we endorse the principle of flexibility as a guide to the policies on appointments and leaves, for men and women, facilitating easy transitions between full- and part-time appointments;

   b. we endorse the principle that part-time service should count toward tenure and promotion, and that appointees be granted all fringe benefits;

c. we encourage the American Studies programs to make use of part-time personnel in all roles--teaching at all levels, chairmanships, decision-making roles--and not to discriminate in the assignment of duties, facilities, or monies to part-time employees.

5. SALARIES AND PROMOTIONS. We subscribe to the principle of equal pay for equal work.

a. This applies to part-time as well as full-time work. Women in part-time positions should be paid on a proportionate (not a lower) scale.

b. Women should be promoted on an equal basis with men. Women should be represented equally with men on promotions committees.

c. Acknowledging the results of current studies that reveal the greatest discrimination against women in promotions to be in the ranks of associate professor, full professor and administrative posts, we urge all universities to make a special and extraordinary effort to hire women into these ranks. We endorse the immediate goal of increasing the proportion of women at all ranks to that of students enrolled in the department of program, and the long range goal of increasing the proportion of women at all ranks to 50%.

6. APPLICATION BLANKS. We wish to call to the attention of all persons involved in decisions on admissions, grants, and hiring that even a mere reference to sex is sufficient to lead to discriminatory judgement, as recent authoritative studies show. As long as the goal is to equalize men and women as students and faculty in a department or program, the sex of the applicant will have to be known. But once equalization is achieved, we urge that, in general procedure, all applications and letters of recommendation be worded to avoid all reference to the sex of the applicant.

7. POWER POSITION. Women should be represented on an equal ratio with men in departments, on committees, and in significant policy-making administrative positions in the university.

8. INDEPENDENT STATUS. Women should be treated on a completely individual basis in all professional matters of interest; consideration of marital status, of husband's professional position or salary; or of other family obligations should be held irrelevant in hiring, promotion, salary.

a. This implies abolition of unwritten and written anti-nepotism policies, for the purpose of making it possible for husbands and wives to be employed at the same institution.

b. It also implies abolition of questions about marriage, divorce, separation, children, spouse's name or occupation from application blanks.

9. PREGNANCY AND PARENTAL LEAVES. Pregnancy leaves and parental leaves should be accorded to faculty as a matter of course. Policies should be established to allow academic careers to be compatible with parenthood in ways that allow men to share in child care; women should not be penalized in their professions for getting married or having children.

a. The pregnancy leave should be viewed by colleges as ordinary medical leave with pay, the duration and conditions of the leave to be at the discretion of the woman, or of the woman in consultation with her physician as specified in the HEW guidelines to employment conditions for women. Pregnancy leave should not adversely affect her consideration for tenure.

b. A term's leave for child care should be granted on request and without salary to either parent.

10. DAY CARE CENTERS. The establishment of day care centers as a responsibility of the university where centers are unavailable is a mandatory step. Since women have traditionally been confined to the home to care for children while men pursued their careers, and since women too must have the opportunity for intellectual and career pursuits, a substitute child care service, of a competent and creative kind, staffed by both men and women, should be available to provide them this opportunity.

11. H.E.W. INVESTIGATIONS. The American Studies Association should welcome the investigations by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of individual universities and other federal contractors in order to enforce compliance with Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 pertaining to discrimination by sex. The ASA acknowledges the H.E.W. Guidelines as binding on itself and its member universities. The American Studies Association empowers the Commission on the Status of Women to file complaints of discrimination under the Federal Order provided for this purpose.

PART II: RESOLUTIONS AFFECTING AMERICAN STUDIES

The subject of American women also has special pertinence to American Studies and the American Studies Association In order to set our own house in order, and to respond to the unique challenge and unique opportunities of our field, we hereby resolve that the ASA supports the following policies and practices:

12. REPRESENTATION. Since women have been conspicuously underrepresented in chapter offices and on the ASA Executive Council, the American Studies Association hereby resolves:

a. that the individual chapters be informed of these resolutions by the office of the Executive Secretary, apprised of the under-representation, and urged to seek out qualified women to serve in chapter offices; and

b. that the ASA Constitution be amended to increase the representation of women to approximate the percentage of women who are members of the organization; and

c. that this be done by immediately amending Article V so that three women are elected in 1972 as members-at-large for one year terms, the number reduced to two in 1973 and one in 1974, at which time this amendment may be considered null and void if there is no longer any need for it, the problem of under-representation having been solved. This amendment does not affect the election of women as Council representatives in the normal election process but does assume that this proportion will increase dramatically within three years' time toward the immediate goal of proportionate representation and the eventual goal of approximately 50%. (The election may be conducted by the office of the Executive Secretary at the same time that elections are held for other members at large, except that women should participate in deciding nominations, which may be determined by a nominating committee appointed from the names in the Women's Directory

Alternate 12. ALTERNATE RESOLUTION ON COUNCIL REPRESENTATION (MINORITY REPORT, SUBSTITUTING FOR 12 a.-c. ABOVE).

that each chapter be represented on the council by two representatives, one of whom must be a woman. (For defense of this alternate resolution by Mr. Merideth, see p.111.)

13. DECISION-MAKING. The ASA Executive Council and Executive Committee should be instructed to take the appropriate steps to have women represented on the editorial board of the AMERICAN QUARTERLY and the major committees of the organization in approximate proportion to the number of women in the association;

14. NATIONAL AMERICAN STUDIES FACULTY. The ASA should instruct the Director of the newly established National American Studies Faculty to take full advantage of the available energies, experience, interests and abilities of the women in the profession, and to use as a guideline for participation in all activities of the National Faculty the ratio of women proportionate to the number in the association;

15. CONFERENCES AND CONVENTIONS. The ASA should aim toward having women represented at all sections of conferences in which ASA participates, and at the biennial National Convention of the association, as speakers, chairpeople, panelists, and the like, in approximate proportion to the number of women in the association;

16. DIRECTORY. The ASA should initiate and maintain a list of women resource persons in the profession, at all levels, in a Woman's Directory compiled by the office of the Executive Secretary in consultation with the Commission on the Status of Women, in order to facilitate recruitment and participation in the various functions in the profession (special lectures, panels, editorships, directorships) to increase the visibility of women and to provide assistance to those on search committees seeking qualified persons;

17. PROGRAM SURVEY. Recognizing that in an interdisciplinary program where teachers and sometimes students have diverse alliances with other departments of universities, the task of obtaining information on the status of women is more difficult and specialized than obtaining such information for traditional departments;

and recognizing further that to obtain this information through separate efforts will therefore be especially costly;

and finally, realizing that a national program survey is now in the process of preparation under the auspices of the ASA;

the ASA Council should direct that the section of the survey designed to deal with the status of women be prepared with careful attention to the problems involved, that it be done in consultation with the Commission on Women, and that it be adequately funded.

18. COMMISSION. The Commission on the Status of Women should be made a standing committee of the ASA until such time as there is no longer a need for its services, all vestiges of discriminatory behavior having disappeared. This commission should be charged with the task of continuing to press for a proportionate ratio of representation of women in all areas pertinent to American Studies. This Commission should be empowered to receive confidential information from women who have suffered discrimination and to file complaints under the Federal Order provided for this purpose. This Commission should be mandated to press for the realization and implementation of the resolutions listed in Part I--on admissions, salary, hiring, promotions, and the like. This Commission should also be free to undertake special projects relevant to the subject, such as studies of textbooks and reading lists in American Studies courses to determine whether and where misrepresentation and underrepresentation of women exists.

19. BIBLIOGRAPHY. The topic "WOMEN" should be added to the present annual bibliography published in AMERICAN QUARTERLY's second summer issue, so that it will be of maximum usefulness to those presently teaching and/or planning to teach courses on the American woman and to scholars doing research on the subject;

20. PRESENT COURSES. The ASA should encourage expanding course materials in present American Studies courses to include units and projects on the American woman, and should encourage both men and women students to focus upon the topic of women in American life through dissertations, theses and seminars;

21. NEW COURSES. The ASA should encourage the addition of courses in women's studies where they do not now exist, and should endorse the principle that women's studies be part of American Studies just as Black Studies, Urban Studies, Ethnic Studies and the like may be covered by the umbrella of American Studies--i.e., without thereby insisting that only the American dimension of the subject is pertinent.

22. FINAL RESOLUTION: IMPLEMENTATION. To implement these resolutions, the ASA Executive Council and the outgoing and incoming officers of the Council should be hereby instructed to send mailing to inform (1) department chairmen and deans, whether they are members of ASA or not, of universities likely to be affected, and (2) the entire ASA membership, of these resolutions, and that they be published in full in the AMERICAN QUARTERLY Calendar section and in AMERICAN STUDIES: AN INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER, along with such explanation of their content as is deemed necessary and desirable by the Council.

The American Studies Association
Commission on the Status of Women

Betty E. Chmaj, ASA Executive Council Member for Michigan, Chairwoman
Carlene Blanchard, Bowling Green State University
Blanche Gelfant, State University of New York at Syracuse
Robert Merideth, University of California at Davis
Lois Rudnick, ASA Executive Council Student Representa
Lillian Schlissel, Brooklyn College
CC Kleinsorge, Columbia University, research assistant

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER SIX:

SUPPORTING PAPERS TO ASA RESOLUTIONS

I.

Dialogue on Alternate 12

by Robert Merideth

RESOLUTION ALTERNATE 12: THAT EACH CHAPTER BE REPRESENTED ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL BY TWO REPRESENTATIVES, ONE OF WHOM MUST BE A WOMAN.

Professor of American Studies: Isn't that a pretty hard line, making half the Executive Council [not counting officers] women?

Mad Revolutionary: Yes.

P: Why so many?

M: Aren't women about half the population?

P: But they aren't half of ASA. Wouldn't proportional representation be fairer?

M: Fairer to whom?

P: I mean, at most, we should have the number of women on the Executive Council be proportional to the number of women in ASA.

M: Why hasn't that happened before? Wouldn't men still be in control? Your notion neglects the culturally generated injustice that explains why women are such a small proportion of ASA in the first place. If ASA's decisions are to have as much cultural impact as possible, they ought to take account of that prior injustice.

P: Still, isn't what we are talking about a little absurd? I mean, someone's capability as a representative doesn't have anything to do with sex, does it?

M: No. The situation is of course an absurd one. But the one absurdity you are talking about grows out of the prior cultural absurdity involving the repression of women and the dominance of men. It's within the context of that prior absurdity that one is obliged to operate. The resolution represents a forceful step by ASA to redress not only its own past, but as well that of the culture that is the subject of its study.

P: So you really want to go that far?

M: Yes.

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II.

AAUP RESOLUTIONS, PASSED APRIL 1970

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AAUP provide for equitable representation of women in committees, offices and staff positions, and in other activities and programs of the Association.

RESOLUTION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE PROFESSION: The Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Association of University Professors notes with approval the increasing national commitment to full equality for women in employment and in professional activities. Society has suffered from its insufficient utilization of the intellectual contributions of women; women in turn have suffered from a variety of attitudes and practices which have excluded them from full citizenship in the professions. The currently tightening academic market offers the twin dangers of increased financial discrimination against women and a consequent depression of salary scales for faculty members of both sexes. The Annual Meeting opposes discriminatory policies and practices which may adversely affect the status of women in academic life. In particular, it opposes discrimination in appointments, the granting of tenure, and the determination of rank, salary, workloads, and other conditions and benefits of academic employment. It calls upon chapters and conferences to be alert to such discrimination and to give guidance and support to those members of the faculty who would work for the elimination of discriminatory practices.

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III.

AHA RESOLUTIONS, PASSED DECEMBER 1970, Excerpt from Part III.

. . . III. INSTITUTIONAL MEASURES . . .

1) The American Historical Association will establish a standing Committee on Women Historians to develop the sustained attention and pressure indispensable to an advance in the status of women. This committee should consist of eight members representing as broad a range of institutions as possible. It should be composed of historians at different stages of their professional development, including graduate students. The committee will have a paid executive secretary responsible for coordinating and administering on a day-to-day basis the functions with which the committee is charged. The duties of the committee will include the following:

a) to maintain and make public no less than once a year information on the numbers and progress of women students in graduate school, the proportions and rank of those employed, and a current picture of the standing of women in the historical profession.

b) to publish information on departments or institutions whose methods of enlarging the role of women in the profession may serve as models for other institutions.

c) to develop and maintain a file of women historians that will provide information on available personnel to interested departments and to the AHA.

d) to gather and make available the fullest information concerning the recourses open to women who face problems of discrimination or other difficulties in employment and to provide individual consultation and advice on such matters.

e) to use its good offices to support implementation of the Executive Order prohibiting discrimination on grounds of race, religion, age, or sex in institutions receiving Federal funds.

2) The American Historical Association will act together with committees on the status of women and on academic freedom that exist in other professional organizations to develop effective mechanisms for dealing with individual cases of alleged discrimination against women. . .

3) The American Historical Association will secure greater representation of women on the programs of its meetings, on its standing committees, and on the Executive Council.

4) The American Historical Association will seek to enlist the active collaboration of departments of history in:

a) working for the elimination of nepotism rules, written or unwritten.

b) developing a greater flexibility with regard to part-time employment, for men and women who desire it. The Association urges that part-time positions carry full academic status, equal consideration for promotion,

proportionate compensation and benefits at all levels, including the tenured ranks. A faculty member, whether a man or a woman, should be granted a reduced work load with reduced pay, at his or her request, in order to care for infants. . .

d) Women should not be penalized for pregnancy and maternity. Therefore:

1. Pregnancy should not be grounds for dismissal, down-grading, holding up of promotion, or withholding the granting of tenure. For graduate students maternity leave should not be counted against the maximum number of years allowed for completion of the degree.

2. No woman should be forced to take a leave due to pregnancy, but all women should be entitled to a short-term confinement leave. Such leave should be treated with regard to pay, promotion, and the granting of tenure in the same manner as leaves for military service for male academics.

/There were also resolutions on making graduate degrees more flexible and on child care centers./

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IV.

MLA RESOLUTIONS, PASSED DECEMBER 1970

Resolution #2: WHEREAS the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has implemented Executive Order No. 11246 as amended by Executive Order No. 11375 according to its June 1970 Guidelines, defining discrimination based on sex,
BE IT RESOLVED that all Modern Language Association members involved in hiring observe the Guidelines urging Federal contractors to take "affirmative action to recruit women to apply for those jobs where they have been previously excluded." Such jobs include especially those of administration and the two top professorial ranks, which Study I of the Commission on the Status of Women conclusively demonstrates have been closed to women in most institutions.

Resolution #3: According to authoritative studies, hiring and promoting women in the past has been based on their qualifications being superior to men's,
BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that (a) all MLA members involved in hiring give equal consideration to women, and that (b) all MLA members involved in hiring avoid "making any distinction between married and unmarried persons of the opposite sex" and "denying employment to women with young children unless the same exclusionary policy exists for men," as specified by Executive Order No. 11375.

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V.

AWP - APA RESOLUTIONS

PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
BY THE ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN PSYCHOLOGISTS
SEPTEMBER 1970

A. General

WHEREAS the self-image and general mental health of countless numbers of women have been destroyed or otherwise damaged by written and unwritten laws restricting their freedom of choice and movement in society; and whereas a full reversal of the processes resulting in discrimination against women will not be possible without strong support and leadership from the Federal government, especially the Executive Branch,

I.A.1. BE IT RESOLVED that APA go on record endorsing the recommendations of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities (as summarized below), and that the President be notified of this endorsement and urged to implement the recommendations.

SUMMARY of Task Force Report: The Task Force recommends that the President establish an office of Women's Rights and Responsibilities; call a White House conference on women's rights and responsibilities; bring sex discrimination before the public, calling on Congress, states, and private interests to act to remedy it; act within the Executive Branch to counter sex discrimination; and appoint more women to positions of top responsibility in the government.

WHEREAS APA has expressed its commitment to improving the social situation of black Americans in its"Statement on Being Concerned" passed by the Council of Representatives in October, 1969, and has allotted a substantial portion of its budget to implement its commitment, and whereas women have a similar claim of unequal treatment by society and by psychology as well,

I.A.2. BE IT RESOLVED that APA commit itself to doing for women whatever it has stated it will do for blacks.

B. Employment

WHEREAS women psychologists are discriminated against in employment, being less likely to be hired, retained or promoted, receiving lower ranks and salaries than men, finding employment more often at less prestigious institutions, and being given harder and less satisfying tasks, with fewer facilities and benefits,

I.B.1. BE IT RESOLVED that APA give high priority to the hiring and promotion of women in psychology, endorsing the immediate goal of increasing the proportion of women at all ranks to that among psychology graduate students, and the long-range goal of increasing the proportion of women at all ranks to 50% . . .

/etc., continuing with resolutions on hiring, nepotism, salaries and fringe benefits, tenure, duties, part-time employment and parenthood leaves. Since the ASA Commission's resolutions on part-time policy were virtually copied from the AWP-to-APA resolutions, repetition here is unnecessary. Especially interesting, however, were AWP's resolutions C and E, which will seem more appropriate to psychology as a field of study than to other fields, perhaps, but which speak to unique aspects of the analysis:/

C. Supporting facilities

WHEREAS women cannot be freed from psychological and social bondage, either to work or study as psychologists, while bearing full responsibility for child care, and cannot readily or cheaply obtain child care as individuals, and whereas early experience in social groups is valuable for children's social development, and whereas damaging sex-role stereotypes are introduced in pre-school years and dominate much of the activity in most child-care facilities,

I.C.1. BE IT RESOLVED that APA support and encourage the establishment of child care centers at all campuses and other institutions and firms employing psychologists.

I.C.2. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that child care centers be open to all faculty, students, employees, and nearby community (where space provides) of the institutions or firms where they are established.

I.C.3. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that facilities and funds for child care centers should be provided by the institutions or firms where they are established.

I.C.4. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that final control of child care centers be in the hands of the parents of children using them.

I.C.5. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that staffing of child care centers, either cooperatively or otherwise, be with both men and women.

I.C.6. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that child care centers work actively to counter damaging sex-role stereotypes from the society at large, and to create an atmosphere contributing to the development of positive self-images, attitudes, and behaviors in both sexes alike.

WHEREAS mental crises are precipitated from the fear and birth of unwanted children, and are often followed by psychic damage in the child itself, and whereas the sense of helplessness and frustration that comes from a lack of control over one's life and one's body causes mental harm to many women, and whereas women cannot freely choose employment in psychology if they are unable to plan their child-bearing,

I.C.7. BE IT RESOLVED that APA support and encourage the establishment of health care programs, especially at firrs and institutions employing psychologists, which make available to women patients information on contracep--tion and abortion.

I.C.8. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that health care programs give free whatever contraceptive help is desired and most suited to the patient.

I.C.9. BE IT RESOLVED that APA endorse the principle that health care programs make abortion referrals where requested.

E. Practices of psychologists

WHEREAS unfounded assumptions regarding the biological determination of women's destiny, or of sex roles or personality, underlie the teaching and research of many psychologists, and whereas scholarship on any subject is valueless when it is uncritical, but in this area it carries the additional burden of causing grave psychological injury to countless women,

I.E.1. BE IT RESOLVED that APA urge psychologists to examine the assumptions on which their and others' definitions of sex roles are based and encourage research and study aimed at such examination; and, further, urge that the teaching of psychology reflect this examination.

WHEREAS therapy and counseling should reflect searching re-examination of old ideas, especially so since their influence is direct, immediate, and far-reaching, and whereas young women too often enter roles chosen for them by society, without encouragement to consider alternative roles; and whereas many women have been given the impression that their rejection of the wife-mother role is based on personality deficiencies that must be corrected by "adjustment,"

I.E.2. BE IT RESOLVED that APA urge clinical and counseling psychologists to review their conceptions regarding appropriate life styles for women, and carefully consider the philosophy of adjustment to an unjust social situation.

****

VI.

REQUEST FROM ASA QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENT #631 (HONEST!)

Q: "What about a resolution to give special consideration for women wishing to get pregnant?"

A: Sorry, you have the wrong organization. You are looking for the American Stud Association.

some room of my own

Nobody Knows My Name
--James Baldwin on
invisibility, 1960

ANONYMOUS was a woman
--Virginia Woolf on
invisibility, 1928.

A line is a prison.
--Hans Hofmann.

A role is a prison.
--Virginia Woolf

I

Two alternatives, two dimensions, two approaches to the study of American women--Virginia Woolf and/or James Baldwin. Two role models for American Studies and for me, to help us understand what is happening to us.

The one a woman but not American. That Virginia Woolf should have known about invisibility before Baldwin did or Ellison did is hardly surprising; she seems sometimes to have known about everything else. Her "room of one's own," for example, was indeed a place (a role) where an integral self could remain detached and whole, but it could also be, metaphorically, a prison. It could be a woman's version of Baldwin's other country and a region of his mind, or Ellison's coalbin in the manhole near Harlem, or Dostoyevsky's hole underground. Certainly the women writers Woolf described knew the suffocation of being imprisoned in bitterness and timidity; it stifled their art, she said, whether they wrote out of defiance or in the conciliatory mood. She paid the ultimate psychological price for her own achievement, of course, in her madness and loneliness and suicide (one thinks of Emily, Zelda--how many others?)

That is one reason she means a great deal to people like myself who serve on commissions on the status of women. She gets quoted now in everybody's opening paragraphs partly because she knew what it was like to be punished for feminist sentiments. She knew what the rest of us learn with pain while compiling our reports--that "consciousness" comes like a dawn, but it leaves one vulnerable and afraid. Her friends went around apologizing for her feminism, explaining how she didn't understand that things were getting better,

the male "conspiracy" weakening all the time (E.M. Forster; cf. pp. 29-30). She didn't understand, they said, that men had it hard in much the same way women did, and was she really so sure she wanted women to be women? (See, for instance, Irving Howe on Kate Millett, a portion of which is in Part III.) Mary Ellmann, as usual, puts the matter well:

> Self-assertion is considered appropriate to virility. Even when a man asserts himself too much, he is obnoxious rather than unmanly. But the argumentum ad feminam: the woman who talks about Women is barren or frigid or mulie-rose. The relative silence of women now, at least on the topic of themselves, is an effect of this Freudian backlash.

That is one of the things I want to talk about in this chapter: I have been silent too. Others who are breaking their silence now seem to come with statistics in hand, especially Helen Astin's. W.E.A.L. quotes Astin, M.L.A. quotes Astin, so I will quote Astin too--and Barbee-Sue Rodman besides:

> /The findings/ suggest that women who report experiences with employer discrimination are professionally active and scholarly productive. Therefore one cannot interpret their complaints as a form of rationalization or as an excuse for their failure to achieve recognition.
> --Dr. Helen Astin, THE WOMAN DOCTORATE IN AMERICA, 1970, Chap. 8.

> I hope other women will be encouraged by my case to also stand up as individuals and challenge discriminatory practices. After all, I'm proof in a way that it can "pay" to fight and not just accept unjust treatment. Moreover, there is no evidence that I have hurt my standing with my colleagues as a result of my action. Those who were offended were unlikely to have been friendly or supportive in any case, while many seemed to have been impressed that I didn't just retreat in humiliation.
> --Professor Rodman, in CCWHP NEWSLETTER, Vol.II No.1 (See Chap. 1)

Retreat, that is, to a room of one's own? The impulse to retreat, for university women, is very strong--to retreat, to rationalize, to "rise above" and refuse to acknowledge, much less resist, the agencies that inflict the pain. Indeed, the American woman's twenty-year retreat into the home (see Friedan) would itself not have been possible without the rationalizations provided her by the "feminine mystique" and Freudianism. Is it so surprising then that those university women who had opted not to retreat but to live their lives in the fire zone remained silent for so long? Pride rises from the ashes of rage to rationalize one's impotence: there was little enough we could do about it anyway.

When Hans Hofmann (the painter) said that a line is a prison, he meant that an artist who draws a line commits himself with that very act; once the line is on canvas, the limits are set, the prison closes, and all further choices must be made within its confines. In this same abstract way, a role is a prison too, even if one is conscious of choice. Of course, men and women both continually commit themselves to roles, as surely as artists commit themselves to line. But it means everything to be aware of the choice.* Let me explain. I do favor a moratorium on the words "role" and "status" and "position" and the rest for as long as it takes to rid such words of their implication of inferior "place," just as I favor avoiding "mankind" and "Man" and "he" for the neuter "one" (this report is my first effort at writing this way) despite the temporary awkwardness that results. John Stuart Mill is

*The similarity between the statements by Hofmann and Woolf is an accident of rhetoric--"A line is a prison," "A role is a prison"--but their respective contributions to the history of modernism raise the possibility of other comparison besides. Is it accident that each in his or her respective art broke from "role"--from the prisons of line and punctuation and document and logic--in similar ways, "streaming out" nuances of the Unconscious in similar ways, expressing abstractly and with great intellectual sensitivity the springs "streaming out" from the emotional underground?

right--these things appear natural only because they are usual: "the subjection of women to men being a universal custom, any departure from it quite naturally appears unnatural." It was not so long ago I too thought it awkward not to say "Negro" and the country has since managed to overcome. In short, I would abolish the idea of "roles" for sexes as they are presently conceived--as narrow stereotyped functions. Yet the fact remains that human beings will have to act through, be hired into, marry into, make choices among, and be forced into roles. The question at issue is surely the question of choice, an equal right to a room of one's own, a role of one's choosing, even if one knows perfectly well that none of the choices is likely to be easy. "One must choose," said Henry James, speaking of Europe or America; women want the right to be faced with that dilemma--the right to be forced to choose.

Among the roles to which I found myself committed when the ASA Questionnaire on Women was sent were two I was amused to imagine mirrored with nice fidelity the particular ambiguity of my own historical moment. On the cover letter, I was chairWOMAN of the Commission on the Status of Women, but on the return envelope I was chairMAN of American Studies at Wayne State. No doubt the word "chairman" in such contexts will also have to be excised from the language universities use, but it has not disappeared yet ("chairperson" still seems more awkward to me than "director," "head," or "chair"), yet some ASA respondents put question-marks beside and circles around my title, perhaps thinking it might be a gaffe or that I ought to make up my mind who I was and which role I preferred. Far from being disconcerted by my double title, however, I thought to find it highly civilized. Which is another phrase I have lifted from Henry James; he used it when he said he would like to write so that no one would know at any given time whether he was an Englishman or an American, and far from being troubled by the uncertainty over his nationality, he would find it highly civilized.

Which brings me next to James Baldwin, my other alternative as role model for women in American Studies. Baldwin's opening line in NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME is Henry James' observation on the "complex fate" of being an American. After his own experience as an expatriate, Baldwin had come to know what James meant by that and to appreciate that the act of freeing himself from the prison of nationality through expatriation had cost James much. It had freed him to write and to reach, to commit himself to his career (his role), but at the price of remaining forever detached ("at arm's length," he had written) both from Europe and his native roots. Lamb House was very much a room of one's own. Baldwin too was American, he too became an expatriate, but of a later generation--and Baldwin was black.

In "The Discovery of What It Means to be American," Baldwin transposed James' dilemma into his own, explaining that he too had to go to Europe to discover his country inside him--but for him it meant discovering what he was besides being black in order to accept his blackness. His was a later journey and he had doubled the complexity of the fate: America versus Europe, black versus white, commitment versus detachment. Unlike James, Baldwin felt he had to return to America "if only because I was afraid to." Like James (and others), Baldwin has lived with the agony of indecision, between extremes; I have an image of future Baldwin scholars making as much out of the contradictions between, say "Everybody's Protest Novel" and BLUES FOR MR. CHARLIE as James scholars have made of the effects of his transatlantic excursions upon the prose and opinions of his successive editions. A kind of truce in the argument seemed to have arrived when Edna Kenton suggested that James' true nationality was "between countries"--that was where he felt at home and wrote best. It was a verdict not unlike Santayana's judgment that Henry (unlike his brother William, who took his stand with "the dumb majority") transcended the American's complex fate by adopting the perspective of the outer world, by turning it "as he turns everything else, into a subject-mattet for analysis." The same might be said of Baldwin, from the evidence of some of his essays--that is, that he transcended his blackness by adopting the

view of the outer world and making race rather than nationality (his own "international theme"; one of the novels on the subject is called ANOTHER COUNTRY) the subject-matter for analysis. But Baldwin by then had come back to America to embrace what he had rejected, risking his art for the gesture, and the verdict on Baldwin is not yet in.

What I have been suggesting all along, of course, is that one approach to the study of American woman is through her Americanness rather than her womanness--in particular, through her later sense of the native double consciousness. As Baldwin is watching James, I am watching Baldwin. I too belong to this unfolding history of the American dilemma: I am evidence. I and my "kind." Baldwin sends out letters from a region of his mind, we send out missiles from rooms of our own (I will get to these in a moment). It is from Baldwin I paraphrase the line, "To be a woman and in this profession is to live with a private rage most of the time." In Baldwin's earlier essays may be found a tone of weariness over the whole idea of protest and protest fiction; it was only afterward that he spoke in the angrier and bolder tones of protest itself ("I don't want to marry your daughter. I just want to get you off my back"). Listen to the similar tone of exhaustion in these book reviews by women of only two years ago: ". . . a collection of the least popular readings in all the world: arguments for the equality of women. This is the fault not of the writers but of the truth" (Ellmann on Kraditor); "The issue should be done by now. It is a bore" (Margot Hentoff on Caroline Bird). It was about that time that my own interest was being piqued, but I too was impatient with the subject; I was saying on public platforms that discrimination on the basis of sex or race or anything else was the world's dullest subject, there being only two things to say--that it should not exist but that it does exist; all the rest was exegesis. My anger also rose some time later, and I do not say such things any more.

II

"It is time to explain myself--let us stand up."
--Walt Whitman, SONG OF MYSELF

It is time to explain the original purpose of the present chapter. Early in our planning, encouraged by my colleagues on the commission, I had decided to create a chapter into which might be shunted any comments of a personal nature or explanations of the work of our group or comments evaluating the questionnaire. This would free me, I then felt, to tell the stories about our findings more or less impersonally, "by adopting the perspective of the outer world" and telling them as a report. While I could not resist on occasion intruding personal comment after all, for the most part I tried to avoid violating this initial rule of thumb.

The following are the evaluative comments I had in mind to make, and herewith do make, about the questionnaire. I wanted to say that whether or not it was a good questionnaire (we have seen how opinions differed), it was certainly a questionnaire that reached people directly and personally, sometimes on a level they did not like to admit even to themselves. I wanted here to take the blame for any failures in the phrasing of questions and for deciding to use the Postscript questions that seemed so to irritate one out of every five members. But I also wanted to express my gratitude to the 80% who did not bridle, who answered the questions "straight"* Most of all, I wanted to acknowledge the immense expression of trust in us from the women who answered. The reluctance of academic women to "wallow" in "sob-sessions" about themselves is much to be respected. I take it as a gesture of confidence that so many were willing to break their reserve of many years in order to confirm in personal terms what HEW and the many studies coming out have

*The members of the California-Davis commission have just mentioned the same thing to me by phone--that their gratitude for the 80% increased the moment they read the incensed reactions of those who refused to answer.

told us in cold statistics. And lastly, I wanted to confirm that the decision to put out a publication in just this form, partly as report and partly as appeal, with the course outlines and supporting papers, was entirely my own idea, based on my quite private (but hardly unpublicized) diagnosis of what American Studies and ASA needed. It meant everything to me to be able to win the support (including financial support) of the association's national office.

But there was something else--another reason for this chapter. The project of putting together this publication has deeply affected me, my other work at the university, my colleagues, my two research assistants, all of our families, our plans, our thinking and our lives, in direct and moving ways--that should be told. Others were stating in personal terms what their studies had meant for them; I felt I ought to make a statement too. I kept putting off the writing, however, wondering whether after all acknowledgements and similar comments didn't better belong in a preface, yet knowing all the while I wanted to add this chapter for reasons I did not fully understand.

I understand them now. I understand the reluctance to relinquish the aloof between-countries detachment, but more than that, I understand the particular need of the women's movement for personal testimony, even in an impersonal report. Here is what Florence Howe, speaking for me as well, said in her "Report on Women and the Profession" last year:

> I am a Ph.D. dropout. That is, I left Wisconsin in order to comply with the demands of a husband who wanted to move to New York. [etc., detailing her career] . . .
>
> So here I am: still an assistant professor at age forty-one, in my eleventh year at a women's college, in my fourteenth year of full-time teaching, . . .
>
> And what has been my response? Until four or five years ago, silence: that was the way things were, I thought, if I thought about them at all. I had been naughty not to finish the degree, and I would be punished accordingly. More recently, I have worn a wry smile and remarked coyly that remaining an assistant professor "kept me honest." And anyway, I explained, I enjoyed my life. . . .
>
> But eighteen months as Commission Chairwoman has eroded that wry smile. I feel now a growing anger as I come to realize that a) I am not alone in my state-- . . .; b) there are many women worse off than I by far . . .; c) our profession still rings with the male laughter that signifies only discomfort, not even fear, much less respect for women....
>
> --COLLEGE ENGLISH, May 1971

No sentence I myself might have written fits the intent I had for the present chapter, the mood I felt, better than "Eighteen months as Commission Chairwoman has eroded that wry smile." For me, it has been less than a year but the same thing has happened. Florence Howe confided to one of us that she had brooded for a long time before deciding to leave in the section beginning, "I am a Ph.D. dropout. . . ." I do not have her excuse. My Ph.D. is ten years old and from the University of Michigan (on Yale's list of "prestigious" universities), dissertation praised and credentials in good order. Yet I too am 41 years old and still an assistant professor at Wayne State. Without tenure and constantly threatened. My own rationalization has been that I had been naughty for wanting to major in American Studies rather than a traditional field and now I was being punished. For this and for refusing to play the academic game in other respects as well. Howe's three conclusions fit me too: (a) I find I am not as unique as I thought, not even in my reluctance to being assigned to chair the "ghetto" of the Ladies Auxiliary at ASA functions, and I am by no means alone any longer (one gets a distorted view from the bridge when alone at Council meetings and often at conferences); (b) there are others in American Studies worse off than I; and (c) there are men in American Studies who, to judge from their comments on questionnaires, have experienced no more than passing discomfort and can offer no more than affable

derision as a result of our efforts.

Florence Howe's decision to risk adding personal remarks to her report had suddenly recalled to me other voices I remembered having heard somewhere--personal asides that women felt compelled to allow, sometimes with considerable embarrassment, to intrude upon their assignments. There had been a woman reporter--was it Shana Alexander of LIFE magazine?--assigned to cover a story on Women's Lib, who reported having been so unexpectedly affected personally in the process that she had to go away for a while and shut herself up in her room to recover her equilibrium. In NEWSWEEK last year, in the middle of an impersonal unsigned news piece (a cover story), there appeared this confession:

> I came to this story with a smug certainty of my ability to keep a respectable distance between me and any subject I reported on. The complacency shriveled and died the afternoon I found myself offering a string of fearful obscenities to a stunned male colleague who had "only" made a casual remark along the lines of "just-like-a-woman." "How do you control the hostility?" I kept asking, because in the beginning it came nervously close to interfering with normal routine. . . . much of the anger was "victim's rage and could be alleviated through constructive women's liberation activity" [she was told].
>
> --NEWSWEEK, March 23, 1970, p. 73.

Jo Freeman's report on the social science faculties at the University of Chicago, one of the earliest reports to appear (it was quoted in Chapter Two), ended on this note:

> These are the date but I wish to add one personal comment. As I plied the catalogs and catalogued the plight of the female faculty, I could not help but feel a serious concern for those women currently in graduate school who, like myself, believed the myth that we would be judged on our capabilities alone and that the opportunities open to us were no different than those open to men. I felt a concern, and I felt an urgency that we should not complacently wait for the men who control the departments to decide how many token women they might allow on their faculties. If we do so, the situation will change no more in the next 77 years than it has in the last 77. We must not rely on the University of Chicago, but on ourselves, and insist that . . . [etc.]

The sense of personal injury, the discovery of the betrayal, and the single leap from the "personal comment" to the advocacy of a more militant stance are often closely linked.

Here next is Marge Piercy's voice, speaking out of a memoir titled "The Grand Coolie Damn," a bitter piece revealing the extent of sexism in the New Left and recounting her experiences in the Movement. I break in on her train of recollections well into the essay:

> Around that time, when I attended many women's liberation meetings I saw the whole thing as interesting primarily as an organizing tool . . . I am older than most Movement women, have a harder sense of myself . . . and have a good, longstanding, and non-possessive relationship with a man I trust politically and personally. It took me two more years of grisly experiences, of getting used and purged, to get my nose well rubbed into women's exploitation, to find out women's liberation was not talking about the other fellow, and to understand how much I had adopted male values to think of liberation as a tool. We are oppressed, and we will achieve our liberation by fighting for it the same as any other oppressed group. Nobody is going to give it to us because we ask, however eloquently. I once thought that all that was necessary was to make men understand that they would achieve their own liberation, too, by joining in the struggle for women's liberation; but it has come to me to seem a

little too much like the chickens trying to educate the chicken farmer. I think of myself as a house nigger who is a slow learner besides. . . .
--from SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, p. 429.

The language has a depressingly familiar sound: "I once had faith, I once believed we could win them over with reason and non-violence, but now I know better." The Labor Movement, the Black Revolution, Nineteenth Century Feminism--how many social movements have arrived at the same impasse? Marge Piercey's language is not my language, but her moment of recognition may well turn out to be mine, I do not know. If she is right, such efforts as the present volume represent gestures of faith that may well be naively and pointlessly displaced.

Lastly, here is Robin Morgan, speaking for all the women who contributed to the anthology she edited as well as for herself:

> Because of the growing consciousness of women's liberation, and, in some cases, because of articles that women wrote for the book, there were not a few "reprisals": five personal relationships were severed, two couples were divorced and one separated, one woman was forced to withdraw her article by the man she lived with; another's husband kept rewriting the piece. . . . More than one woman had trouble finishing her piece because it was so personally painful to commit her gut feelings to paper. . . . Speaking from my own experience, which is what we learn to be unashamed of doing in women's liberation, during the past year I twice survived the almost-dissolution of my marriage, was fired from my job . . ., gave birth to a child, worked on a woman's newspaper, . . . and changed my politics completely. That is, I became, somewhere along the way, a "feminist" committed to a Woman's Revolution.
> . . . All of us who worked on it [this book] in a variety of ways had to read and think and talk about the condition of women until we began to dream about the subject, literally. The suffering and the courage and humor and rage and intelligence and endurance that spilled out from the pages that came in from different women! The facts we came up against, the statistics!

Once when we were working to boil down the college reports for Chapter Two, I found myself unaccountably in a rage, exploding into tears over a page of impersonal statistics. They were in a report by a man named Tousey on the years in rank of women in the several departments of the University of Illinois-Urbana. College after college, department after department within each college, showed the women coming into rank later than the men: goddamit, couldn't there be one lousy loudmouthed woman genius sequestered in some small out-of-the-way department to tip the averages the other way just once? But no, the impersonal percentages droned on, column after column, the women always held back. Robin Morgan goes on:

> It makes you very sensitive--raw, even--this consciousness. Everything, from the verbal assault on the street, to a "well-meant" sexist joke your husband tells, to the lower pay you get at work (for doing the same job a man would be paid more for), to television commercials, to rock song lyrics, to the pink or blue blanket they put on your infant in the hospital nursery, to speeches by male "revolutionaries" that reek of male supremacy--everything seems to barrage your aching brain, which has fewer and fewer protective defenses to screen such things out. You begin to see how all-pervasive a thing is sexism--the definition of and discrimination against half the human species by the other half. . . .
> . . . (Women's liberation is the first radical movement to base its politics--in fact, create its politics--out of concrete personal experiences. We've learned that those experiences are <u>not</u> our personal hangups. They are shared by every woman, and are therefore political. The theory, then comes out of human feeling, not out of textbook rhetoric....)
> --Introduction to SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, pp. ixv-xv, xvii-xviii.

All of these women speak for me. They have all written my chapter for me. They are from different occupations, of different ages, have different politics, and are involved in American life in very different ways. But their commentaries are letters from a region of my mind, sent out from a room of my own. The one thing they share, besides the awareness that led them to personal commentary, is that they all write--and that too is what they have in common with Baldwin and Woolf.

Morgan is right, it makes you raw, this consciousness. And if you write, it finally makes you suspicious of "writing well." (One thing the Mailer defenders can't seem to grasp: that to say that his failure in "The Prisoner of Sex" was merely that he was not at his usual best in "writing well" says nothing at all to those already tired of cleverness in the rhetoric of sex.) The women's movement today has passed the point of weariness, passed beyond its sense of exhaustion, even beyond (at times) self-irony; it may be peaking on a wave of rage, but if so, it is hardly surprising that the kind of writing that goes with detachment should also be giving way. I wish I could end my report to the ASA with that apocalyptic vision with which Baldwin ended THE FIRE NEXT TIME, the angriest book of essays he ever wrote, and call upon all "the relatively conscious men and the relatively conscious women to stand together now," so that in one grand gesture of love and understanding we can all "achieve our country and change the history of the world." I wish I could end by paraphrasing Thomas Wolfe on "The Promise of America" for womankind (since at bottom that is what the women's movement is also about): "So then to every one her chance, to every one her shining, golden opportunity, to every one the right to live, to work, to be herself, and to become whatever her womanhood a and her genius can combine to make her." Alas, I cannot believe in this rhetoric--not yet, not now, not for us. Until such a time when the women's movement can invoke the American Dream without gagging, until we know a great deal more about the people in power than we know now, I prefer instead the mood in a poem about "miss rite to travel" (below), because the voice that speaks fro the inner region of her mind is the one that should be speaking for us all.

miss rite to travel

miss rite to travel drinks too much ten years later.
miss rite to travel gets laudatory notes from intellectual
guys in n.y. for her gut stories that they think are satirical.
miss rite to travel looks better in the tub than in her professional
clothes & her baby is now asleep.
i am tired of calling her that.
i am tired of being clever.
i want to know who wants to destroy us
& how do we stop it?

she dresses her little girl carefully for bedtime.
she takes a lot of pills for all her illnesses.
she laughs & says she's feeling better.
i want to know who wants to destroy us
& how do we stop it?

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Part II: COURSES

A. AMERICAN STUDIES COURSES

WOMEN IN AMERICAN CULTURE

American Studies 198
Fall, 1970

Robert Merideth
University of California, Davis

COMMENTARY: "Draw Some Connections": An American Studies Course on 'Women in American Culture'

Robert Merideth

"American Studies 198: Women in American Culture" started as far as I was concerned during the summer, 1970, when, on arriving at the University of California, Davis, where I was to be Chairman of American Studies, my wife for her own reasons sought out the Davis Women's Liberation group, learned that some student members wanted to do a course on women fall quarter, and at my request suggested American Studies as an appropriate place to do it. Those organizing the course agreed and we met in September.

The initial conversations were difficult. I was new to the campus, without local political credentials, male, a faculty member and a chairman--no one particularly to have confidence in, except that my wife did seem to know her way around women's liberation and I had, after all, offered what small resources American Studies could muster for the course. The women already had the course generally planned, though not conceptualized, when our negotiations and my learning commenced. The course would be held in the evening, the credit would be four units, once a week there would be small-group discussions led by a student knowledgeable in women's liberation, discussion leaders would meet weekly before the lecture at a pot-luck dinner, everything would be run by a core group of students and I would be nominally "in charge" (I was teaching the course as an overload).

During the initial discussions, the student organizers emphasized the educational value of a student-run course, openness, dialogue, therapy, consciousness-raising. I found myself upholding the importance of adequately conceptualizing culture, of intellectual rigor, of meaningful structure in the course design, and of clearly announced expectations. None of these were incompatible theoretically, and our differences were not as sharp as the writing of them makes it seem. But we did have trouble deciding how we would handle grades, not adequately resolving the question until the course was repeated the second quarter as a mandatory pass/no pass course. We also differed on the importance of the readings and student projects or writing, resolved by "expecting" students in the course to read six books and by asking everyone (though alternatives were possible) to write a critical diary:

> That is [as we wrote in the course syllabus], students should weekly (or daily, as they wish) write critical commentaries on the books they are reading, the lectures they are hearing, the discussion groups they are engaged in. (They should try out these critical reflections on their discussion groups.) We envisage the best kind of critical diary as one which, at some length, and regularly, reveals that the student is making connections between the public issues dealt with in books and lectures and the private troubles he or she sees people enduring, or that he or she is enduring.

Our initial planning was finished three days before the quarter opened, at which time we announced the course and attracted about 125 students. The first class meeting was devoted to general discussion, developing a style for the course, asking questions, raising consciousness, and organizing the small

discussion groups. (All this, as throughout the course, was led by women from the core group. Though I assiduously attended all the lectures and group leader meetings, I never appeared in front of the class.) Subsequent large class meetings (two hours long) were devoted to lectures or panel discussions on: women's self-image, the history of women, an anthropologist's view of women, sexuality, women and creativity, the nuclear family and alternatives to it, organizing women into unions (women and work), women and the law, minority women, and women's liberation.

With one male exception, the lecturers were women recruited by the core organizers. They varied in quality--some illuminating, some entertaining, some disappointing. But it was invariably the case that, when the time came for questions and discussion by the class, the discussion leaders often and other students eventually asked penetrating and important questions. My impression from the back of the lecture hall was that most of the students paid attention, were critical, improved in understanding as the quarter wore on, and generally learned more than students usually learn in a university course.

On the whole, American Studies 198 seemed a success, with one crucial qualification. On the one hand, any student who participated fully would have read six books from a list of choices in as many categories--e.g., Betty Friedan's THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE (self-image), Eleanor Flexner's CENTURY OF STRUGGLE (history), Masters and Johnson's UNDERSTANDING HUMAN SEXUAL INADEQUACY (sexuality), Doris Lessing's THE GOLDEN NOTEBOOK (creativity), Laing's SANITY, MADNESS AND THE FAMILY (the family), and Kate Millett's SEXUAL POLITICS (politics of a sort). She (about 75% of the students were women) would have participated in serious, small group, theraputic discussions of her personal troubles and hopefully would have been able to understand those troubles as an autobiographical version of the public issues raised in lectures she listened to. She would have thought and written critically and at length about the condition of women in the United States. She may have taken steps toward her own liberation as a person. As Herbert Marcuse observes, "The development of a true consciousness is still the professional function of the universities," and American Studies 198 performed that function reasonably well.

On the other hand, I doubt whether "true" consciousness can be developed adequately in a course which has a central subject but no coherent and systemati explanatory idea. Lacking that idea, at worst the lectures skewed off in all directions, the readings made only ad hoc and limited sense, the discussion groups could only explore, and the course as a whole could have only a plan, not structure. If some students seem to have learned a great deal, others were bewildered, or at least not enlightened. Even those who did learn could, I believe, have learned more and better if the course had been designed and controlled according to a fully articulated and normative theory of culture. The analysis of the condition of women, that is, had no base in a theory of culture fully and adequately explanatory.

To be sure, adopting C. Wright Mills' contention that the "personal troubles of milieu" are intimately related to "the public issues of social structure," we tried to give the course some conceptual order. And when it was offered the second quarter with René Viargues nominally in charge and two of the original core group of students (Pam Eagelston and Mary Hurlbert) spending long hours working imaginatively at improvements, and with only 70 or so students, the course got better. We changed rooms, from a standard lecture hall to a room where people could sit on the floor and surround the speaker. We played music at the beginning of class--music that contributed to revealing how women are treated as objects, how they survive at the lower levels of a partriarchal and hierarchical society, how they are demeaned. We asked students to do three "mini-projects"--"active, non-academic projects . . . designed to give new insight and involvement with what it means to be a

woman (and a man) in this culture" (an excellent device; some of the projects are reproduced in an appendix to this essay). We conceived, wrote, and distributed one or two page statements on the subjects of the lectures, to be passed out to the class (again, an excellent idea, some of them appended). We more explicitly adopted a point of view favorable to the women's liberation movement. For the first half of the course, we segregated discussion groups according to sex. And we explicitly ordered the course as moving from "dilemmas that may seem only personal" to an "institutional framework that has supported sexism and blatantly affected all of us." "We" in all these cases means Pam Eagelston and Mary Hurlbert, whom I have asked to comment on the course from their point of view immediately following my account.

But none of this, I think, could have been as useful as the articulation and explicit application of a normative theory of culture to the subject. The ingredients of such a theory are available in such politically and socially penetrating books as Mills' THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION, Marcuse's ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN, Berger and Luckmann's THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY, Millett's SEXUAL POLITICS, in the work of cultural anthropologists like Leslie White and David Bidney, in essays such as Richard Sykes' "American Studies and the Concept of Culture" and Jaeger and Selznick's "A Normative Theory of Culture," and in much else. Surely by now in American Studies we have discovered the force that cultural explanation brings to bear on subjects, the purchase on reality it provides, the analysis it allows. Adequate cultural explanation implies, I think, a radical politics, at least in the United States in the middle third of the twentieth century. It becomes, therefore, doubly appropriate in a course organized by advocates of women's liberation and about women in American culture.

Mea culpa. I am of course primarily criticizing the limits of my own contribution to American Studies 198. My criticism marks my chief learning in the course. If my experience contributed to further understandings--about the competence of some students as teachers, about women in American culture, about women's liberation--none of them were more important than the major proposition about cultural explanation.

I learned important things from one of the mini-projects, however, which I commend to those of my colleagues in the American Studies Association still uncertain about the value and importance of the study of women in American culture or about the validity and truth of the claims various professional society commissions on the status of women have made. "Spend an average day or two taking very careful notice of 1) how men treat you, 2) how women treat you, 3) how you treat women. Women, do you like other women, or merely feel threatened, or bored? Are you proud because you often hang around with men, watching the exciting things they do? What is a groupie? Men, do you take women seriously? Do you expect them to carry their own weight or do you encourage coyness? Do your female friends have female friends of their own? Draw some connections."

The specific charges describing what we are to "notice" in our average day could be improved on, but the last sentence cannot. Making connections is central to cultural explanation and to American Studies. It is what we should be good at. We are not, I think, good enough at it yet.

APPENDIX to "Draw Some Connections"

The four sample handouts for American Studies 198 that follow were written (or otherwise produced) by Pam Eagelston and Mary Hurlbert, often under great pressure of time. I have edited them only slightly--adjusting style and punctuation minimally, omitting comments on due dates for projects, names of speakers, local addresses, and the like. The first describes the "mini-projects." The second, third, and fourth deal, respectively, with "repressed female sexuality," "socialization," and "women's experiences in traditional family life styles." Comments on the course by Pam Eagelston and Mary Hurlbert follow the appendix.

I

MINI-PROJECTS

In addition to the required reading, three active, non-academic projects are required of each class member. These projects are designed to give new insight and involvement with what it means to be a woman (and a man) in this culture. The projects will follow the basic structure of the course, from personal experience, to institutional experience, and finally some liberating alternatives . . . . Relate observations from the mini-projects /to/ reflections on your own experiences or /on/ how the observations apply to yourself and women in a one page review.

The basic goal of these mini-projects is to re-experience what we take for granted. We hope to be able to draw new connections between our own troubles and those of our sisters and brothers, our mothers and fathers. Naturally some projects are more appropriate for women than for men, and vice versa. These are merely suggestions. You are free to invent a project of your own, keeping in mind that a good project can:

give men the experience of being women, OR
show women their own experiences, OR
show women their sisters' experience, OR
show women men's experience.

Let your discussion leader know what you're doing; other people may want to do it too. The more vivid the experience, the more successful!

Personal Mini-Projects: On your own:

1. Go to the curriculum collection in the library. Read a first grade reader; try third grade, sixth grade. Eeeek! How do schools socialize little people into masculine/feminine roles? Can you find a progression from grammar school through high school and college? Can you remember your own?

2. Spend an average day or two taking very careful notice of 1) how men treat you, 2) how women treat you, 3) how you treat women. Women, do you like other women, or merely feel threatened, or bored? Are you proud because you often hang around with men, watching the exciting things they do? What is a groupie? Men, do you take women seriously? Do you expect them to carry their own weight or do you encourage coyness? Do your female friends have female friends of their own? Draw some connections.

3. Read magazines. Men, look at SEVENTEEN, MADEMOISELLE, GLAMOUR, BRIDE, etc. Consider the ads the most important part. What do they tell you about the "average, ideal" girl and how does this compare with the women you know and live? How do you imagine they cope with the discrepancies? Women, try looking at a few classic men's magazines (ESQUIRE, PLAYBOY, etc.).

Does the image you find of yourself feel at all comfortable or realistic? Hmmmm . . . . And what is the ideal male image like? If you are really incensed, try making a collage, with some nicely juxtaposed photos of worn, wrinkled, strong women.

4. Watch TV. Especially the news. How many minutes are devoted to women? And how many of those minutes are serious? Draw some connections.

5. Spend several hours of a high school or college dance in the bathroom. What kinds of hassles and tensions are your sisters (or brothers) going through? Are the things they expect of themselves realistic? What has led them to expect what they do?

6. Find out about women's clubs, church organizations, women's leagues in Davis. What are their structures, purposes? What needs do they fulfill? How do they affect their members and the community? Where is their consciousness concerning women's issues?

7. Men: learn some of the feelings of domestic service. Bake something--from scratch! Follow a two-year-old around for a day. Extrapolate this to five years. Are you tired?

8. Women: learn some of the feelings of gallantry. Give up your seat all day, open the door, lift the packages, drive the car, and pay your own way. Pay his way. Try a "masculine" sport like football or wrestling. How does it feel? How are you treated?

All Together Now:

9. Read a play aloud in your discussion group. A DOLL'S HOUSE is good. We'll hand out another one in class. Women reading men's roles and men reading women's may give insight into the assumptions and reactions of the other side. Try it again when the groups are integrated. How does it feel?

10. Go to a porno film. It's easier in integrated bunches. How does it make you feel about women? Who else was in the audience? How much did it cost? How hard was it to find? Draw some connections?

DO ANY OF THE ABOVE OR MAKE UP YOUR OWN

II

REPRESSED FEMALE SEXUALITY--NO MORE

On: The physiology of sex and some social and cultural implications of sexual equality.

Devotee of the Sexual Revolution, Hugh Hefner, put down Women's Liberation as anti-sex and puritanical.

"I am so pleased with myself and my developer and so is my husband. I went from a 32A to a 36B."

Plastic surgery is something I can't do without

Best Loved results are guaranteed

Woman is not to desire or act, but to be desired and acted upon.

FORGET FREUD! FORGET FREUD! FORGET FREUD! FORGET FREUD! FORGET FREUD! liberate yourself FORGET FREUD! liberate yourself FORGET FREUD!!!!!!!

> It is now believed that the human fetus is originally physically female until the operation of androgen at a certain stage of gestation causes those with Y chromosomes to develop into males. Psychosexually (e.g., in terms of masculine and feminine, and in contradiction to male and female) there is no differentiation between the sexes at birth. Psychosexual personality is therefore postnatal and learned.
>
> --Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS

We are human beings first, not male or female. Both physiologically and psychologically we possess both masculine and feminine characteristics.

The problem of sexuality clearly illustrates that men and women are oppressed together in an institutional framework which makes inhuman demands of them and inculcates destructive beliefs about themselves. I want to stress, though, that we women shouldn't become obsessed with freeing ourselves from sick male sexuality. It is more important to free ourselves from the structures which make both male and female sexuality sick.

--Laurel Limpus, "Liberation of Women: Sexual Repression and the Family
THIS MAGAZINE IS ABOUT SCHOOLS, Vol. III #1, Winter, 1961.

III

SOCIALIZATION: The Sexism in All of Us

--"A little girl learns to be attractive and gentle. 'Isn't Stephanie pretty? Say 'pretty, pretty,' Stephanie.' And we lead her off to look in the mirror to see for herself how pretty she is. The girlish tricks of lowering her eyes, and sighing and whining when she wants something. Coquetry, not sexuality, is what we encourage."

--"On the surface, schools don't seem to teach girls that they're different. But they do. They do it overtly by giving them different subjects like home economics and shop and by dividing them into different classes for gym and health education. But it is the complicated web of many subtler things that is more important: mother is the shopper in arithmetic problems, the cozy town family in Dick and Jane readers, the cozy inner-city family of the Bank Street Readers, the encouragement of 'feminine' qualities of neatness and docility. The point of feminine dependence is made indirectly."

--Sarah Spinks

What happens to girls? How are they socialized? How are they treated differently from boys? How do they act differently from boys?

I. We know girls start off intellectually ahead of boys and end up far behind.
   A. Girls walk, talk, toilet train, count, and read earlier and more readily than boys (they even do better in math!)
   B. Consistent sex differences in favor of boys don't appear until high school.
   C. YET from adolescence on, girls' opinions of themselves go steadily down, their opinion of boys rises, and boys' opinions of themselves rise.

WHAT HAPPENED?????

II. The culture defines success (and therefore happiness) very differently for women than for men.
   A. "Success" for women is clearly known to be adult status through marriage, not independent, aggressive, intellectual (i.e. "masculine") achievement.
      1. There may have been a time when "A Woman's Place is in the Home" was essential to the functioning of the society. The family was the vital social and economic unit; high birth and death rates and the comparatively higher status of childbearer-raiser made the traditional wife a tolerable and necessary existence.
      2. This is no longer so--actual sex roles (male strength and female childbearing) are no longer realistic limitations. Hand-to-hand combat and 14 children are no longer norms we must live up to.
   B. YET women continue to be defined as sweet nestbuilders.
      1. How is this definition transmitted?
         a. Parental example, beginning from birth.
         b. Parental teachings
         c. Siblings' examples and teaching.
         d. Peers' examples and teachings.
         e. Schools' examples and teachings.
         f. Media's examples and teachings.
         g. Employers' examples and teachings.
         h. The law's examples and teachings.
      2. It is during adolescence that one's social definition becomes most clear and one becomes most anxious to fit in as an adult; it is here that women begin to lose academic ground. They've learned their lesson.
   C. Women, then, are taught to avoid "success" and are faced with great anxiety, self, doubt, and conflict when "succeeding."
      1. A group of college women were asked to finish a story beginning, "After first term finals Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class." Sixty-five per cent could not do so without manifesting extreme anxiety.
      2. Such anxiety often shows up in college women, attempting to reconcile a growing disparity between present intellectual, active pursuits, and future (permanent) nonintellectual, domestic life.

III. Beyond merely convincing women to quit competing for "male" achievements, women are actually trained to be less capable in such fields.
   A. Boys consistently do better than girls in tests of spatial perception (the ability to perceive objects out of context), which is especially useful in analytical, abstract thinking.
      1. BUT the key to the development of this ability is whether and how soon a child is encouraged to assume initiative, to take responsibility for herself, and to solve problems without relying on assistance.
      2. Boys are expected to behave this way--girls are not.
   B. Thus in all the channels by which social norms are transmitted, with rigid definitions come actual training and restrictions, the better to make us only capable of fitting into our designated role.
      1. Formal and informal, verbal and nonverbal, this training is also transmitted by
         a. Parents
         b. Siblings
         c. Peers
         d. Schools
         e. Media
         f. Employers
         g. The law

2. Consistently throughout this training girls are protected from the impact of the environment, while boys are restricted from the effect their activities may have on that environment (the environment is protected from them!).

C. Is it surprising that girls, compared to boys, have been found to be more nervous, unstable, neurotic, socially dependent, submissive, easier to control and intimidate, are more passive, and have lower opinions of themselves and of girls in general?
1. Channeled into situations which thwart independence and glorify frailty, which can bore, frustrate, and cripple, women develop various coping strategies.
   a. Such strategies are the common response of oppressed people to dysfunctional, insensitive institutions.
   b. They must be considered as life-preserving.

IV

MEN AND WOMEN LIVING TOGETHER: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN TRADITIONAL FAMILY LIFE STYLES AND A LITTLE BEYOND, BUT NOT TOO MUCH

In presenting this panel of four women we have narrowed the focus to what most middle class women have done and are still doing. Like ourselves, you will probably identify with these life styles according to how your parents have worked out their living situation, your own fantasies during moments of escape from school hassles, the place you are in now, or what your sisters are doing. Try to re-experience and empathize. Then ask questions as if you were doing the Mother, Wife, Career, or Commune thing. Where would you fit in best or why wouldn't you?

Keep in mind how these living situations satisfy the needs of the woman, the man, the little people (children) . . . or how they do not satisfy their needs. What are their needs?

The family (and other living groups) is a place to retreat. In some form we all need someone and someplace to get ourselves together. How do the nuclear family, the extended family, and the intentional family meet this qualification?

Consider self-sufficiency, survival, creativity, isolation, equality, decision making, distribution of work, play, who raises the children, knowledge of and activities outside the home in the big world, etc. within the family.

Separate the realities from the facades.

Ways to see the family: a place to live, a special unit, a way of life, a social system, an economic unit, an organism.

How much personal change and learning do these family units allow? How is the family regulated by local, state, and federal law? What is the family's position and relation to the social system? the economic system?

"Ye gods--what do I do (all day). Well, I get up and out of bed at 6 AM. I get my son dressed and then get breakfast. After breakfast I wash dishes, then bathe and feed my baby. She's 3 months old. Then I start the procedure of housecleaning. I make the beds, dust, mop, sweep, vacuum. Then I put my baby to bed, and the little boy to bed for his nap. Then I usually sew or mend or wash windows or iron and do the things I can't possibly get done before noon.

Then I cook supper for my family. After supper my husband usually watches TV while I wash dishes. I get the kids to bed. Then--if I'm lucky--I'm able to sit down, watch TV or read a magazine. Then I set my hair and go to bed."
(a 22-year-old housewife, quoted in WORKINGMAN'S WIFE, p. 34).

"Ever since I had Kevin I lie in bed at night and plan what I'm going to do the next day. When I need to go to the drugstore to buy some more Pampers, that's a big thing. I plan my whole day around it. I can't believe that's become an excursion out for me now." (new mother, age 21, college graduate.)

. . . . . .

BEYOND AMERICAN STUDIES 198

Pam Eagelston and Mary Hurlbert

The revolution has begun in each of our minds, in each of our personal relationships, but it cannot be effective until we relate, react, and revolt. Working within a sexist university structure which cannot adequately respond to the needs of women, we and many other women have tried to begin raising the consciousness of our sisters and brothers and to begin developing the undercurrent of anger in Davis area women. Perhaps we could have better spent the energy applied to American Studies 198 toward hustling money to get one of our better known sisters (such as Kate Millett or Marlene Dixon) to Davis for an evening, but we wanted to develop our own resources, to utilize our own skills, and to grow as Davis sisters together. So we invited housewives, women professors and teachers, local women union organizers, local women lawyers and doctory, and other students as our guests to share with us their experiences as women and their analysis of their own scenes. We didn't have lectures; guests and students shared their personal experiences and their view of what has been satisfying, discouraging, and impossible in dealing with the institutions of American culture. We looked at American economics, politics, arts, and customs through our collective experience, each of us taking the others to new awareness and new analysis.

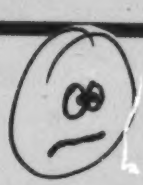
Because change begins in our personal lives there was much energy directed at examining personal relations, family structure, and socialization, including most importantly alternatives to cultural traditions. As we grew stronger we began to examine the larger institutions and to make connections between our personal and institutional lives. What about the university's neglect in providing opportunities for self-knowledge, for learning the heritage of women, for developing useful skills, and for discovering opportunities in employment for women? That's our lives. To go to the university personnel office with diploma in hand still means we must take a typing test. Bob Merideth, from his privileged position in the university, argues the need for a tighter cultural analysis. We agree. That is, we agree that we must develop useful analytical tools for understanding the forces pressing against our lives, but we also believe that that must come from ourselves and not from a set of ideas that has developed out of the exclusively male mainstream of intellect and experience.

In "teaching" American Studies 198: Women in American Culture, we had a firm commitment to doing our own shit work; we didn't want a secretary. As we sat at the American Studies secretary's typewriter preparing the weekly 2-10 pages of handouts, we too were expected to make the coffee. In addition to our "teaching" load, we were both full time students and held part-time jobs. But when we asked for pay we went beyond our place as women. In other words, the university allows token experiments for women. It was OK to have a student-run course on Women in American Culture as an experiment, but once we asked for real recognition for our work, the university could not respond. Our positions as teachers and the course itself existed on the fringes. At the moment, the course is no longer being offered.

Merideth, cont'd

Our struggle will continue in two directions this year. The class was a bandaid at best. We will be demanding a Women's Studies Department with adequate funding, affirmative action in hiring women in all departments, the end to anti-nepotism rules, day care centers for the children of all university employees and students, the admission of part-time students, and maternity and paternity leave for all students and employees. In our personal lives we will be creating a collective living situation where men and women living together can share the pain, risk, and fear involved in advocating the changes we want.

THIS EXPLOITS WOMEN



A good wife knows how to be an expensive mistress.

Are you so busy being devoted to your husband you never make reckless demands? That's a mistake. Try acting spoiled now and then. Simply have to have some wildly beautiful extravagance. This magnificent Swakara Broadtail should fill the bill admirably. How will your husband feel about suddenly having an expensive mistress? He'll complain about the cost of maintenance. And be a lot more attentive.

--ad for Neustadter Furs, from THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

"My name is Beretta,
...Take me Along."

"I am 22 and very petite. My size is actually one of my charms since I tuck so easily into your pocket or purse. And I'd love to spend some time with you. Take me along and I'll keep you company for plinking or protection. One cute thing about me is that my barrel tilts up at the touch of a button. Lets you chamber my first round and start shooting like quick... Get me, Minx 22, or for a little more punch my big sister Jettfire 25. Or for a brochure featuring me and all my brothers and sisters ... write ...

--ad from TIME Magazine.

Let's talk about women's liberation

The American Appliance Industry has always championed women's liberation. There was a time when women washed clothes by hand in water carried from a well ... shopped every day because there was no way to refrigerate food ... tried to keep house with just a broom ... made clothes without a sewing machine! It's obvious. America's appliances have freed women from the oppression of endlessly dull, backbreaking work. They've helped liberate the American woman to enjoy a more stimulating, more interesting life ... in or out of the home. Women who seek successful careers in the arts, sciences, business, industry, education, or the professions are finding themselves. It's all part of America's new freedom of preference. And Republic Steel Corporation, a leading supplier of steels to the appliance industry, is proud to be a part of it. Visit your nearest appliance dealer and you'll see hundreds of modern steels--intricately shaped and beautifully finished in the world's finest consumer appliances. Like to help liberate the woman in your life from some hard work and drudgery? Buy her one of the new convenience appliances this weekend. Or maybe a whole houseful.

--ad for Republic Steel from TIME Magazine

AMERICAN STUDIES 210

American Studies 210
Spring, 1971

Sheila Tobias
Wesleyan University

I. WESTERN CIVILIZATION--A PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY

Jan. 28. What is Patriarchy?
Reading: Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS, Ch. 2
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias

Feb. 2. Origins of Patriarchy.
Reading: Friedrich Engels, FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, 2 Prefaces; Ch. 1, 4, 5, 6.
Lecturer: Marilyn Arthur: "Greece and Rome: The Origin of the Western Attitude Toward Women"

Feb. 4. History, Historians and Patriarchy.
Reading: "Procopius of Caesarea" (handout)
Lecturer: Ellen Hurwitz on "The Empress Theodora of Byzantium: The Antithesis of a Virgin Queen."

Feb. 9. History of the Family
Reading: finish the above
Lecturer: Miriam Slater, History graduate student, Princeton

II. PSYCHOLOGY RECONSTRUCTS THE FEMALE

Feb. 11. Biological Differences Between Men and Women
Reading: Eleanor Maccoby, DEVELOPMENT OF SEX DIFFERENCES, Ch. 1,3
Lecturer: Jane Viggiani

Feb. 16. Sex-Role Socialization
Reading: Margaret Mead, SEX AND TEMPERAMENT, Intro. and Part IV
Lecturer: Lenore Weizman, Yale University, Sociology

Feb. 18. Myths and Sex-Role Socialization
Reading: finish the above
Lecturer: Frances Harwood, Anthropology

Feb. 23. Psychoanalysis and Women
Reading: Millett, "Freud" pp. 176-233
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias

Feb. 25. Female Personality through Fantasies
Reading: Simone de Beauvoir, THE SECOND SEX, Intro and Ch. 9
Lecturer: Sara Winter, Psychology

Feb. 26. SPECIAL SEMINAR: Prof. Matina Horner, Social Relations, Harvard
Topic: "Toward an Understanding of Achievement-Related Conflicts In Women"

Mar. 2. New Research in the Psychology of Female Personality
Reading: finish de Beauvoir reading
Lecturer: David Winter

III. IMAGES OF WOMEN IN LITERATURE

Mar. 4. Male Aesthetics
Reading: Millett, Ch. 1 and Part III, pp. 127-156
Lecturer: Carol Ohmann: Emily Bronte in the Hands of Male Critics

Mar. 4. SPECIAL: Group Gripe, 02 Shanklin, 7:30 pm

Mar. 9. Images of Women in Literature
Reading: Fiedler: LOVE AND DEATH IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL, Ch. 2
Lecturer: Moger: The Angelized Woman in European Literature

Tobias, cont'd

Mar. 11. Images of Women (cont'd)
Reading: "Family Happiness" and "Kreutzer Sonata" in Tolstoy, IVAN ILYICH AND OTHER STORIES
Lecturer: Ruth Benson, Tolstoy's Female Characters

Mar. 11. SPECIAL: RECOMMENDED, Prof. Gerda Lerner, Sarah Lawrence
SEMINAR: Topic: "Problems in the History of Women"

Mar. 16. Independent Women
Reading: Doris Lessing, A MAN AND TWO WOMEN, and other stories
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias

Mar. 18. "Womanish Writing"
Reading: Bradstreet, Sexton, Levertov (handouts)
Lecturer: Susan McAllester, COLLEGE ENGLISH

PAPER ASSIGNMENT: Read Chaps. 8, 9, 10 in Fiedler or Part 3 in Millett
Apply or refute either thesis using a Lessing short story, a Tolstoy short story, or reading suggested by your section instructor.

IV. FEMININE MYSTIQUE AND MASCULINE MYSTIQUE IN AMERICA

Apr. 6. Introduction
Reading: Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias

RECOMMENDED: Movies of the 50's and 60's as examples of "mystique" to be shown 4/20-22, 02 Shanklin, 7:30 pm

Apr. 8. Masculine Mystique
Reading: Millett Ch. 1 and the Mailer section in Part 3
Lecturer: David McAllester, Anthropology

Apr. 13. Psychology of Family Processes
Lecturer: Stephen Bank, Psychology, "The Myths of Motherhood in Family Process

V. REBELLION OF WOMEN, I

Apr. 15. History of Women
Reading: Millett, "Historical Background" pp. 59-127
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias

Apr. 20. History of Women Suffrage
Reading: Eleanor Flexner, A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE, selected chapters
Lecturer: Lou Holloway on Black Women or Sheila Tobias on Politics of the later suffrage movement

RECOMMENDED: William J. O'Neill, EVERYONE WAS BRAVE
Christopher Lasch, THE NEW RADICALISM IN AMERICA, 1889-1963

REBELLION OF WOMEN, II

Apr. 22. Women's Liberation 1960's
Reading: Robin Morgan, ed. SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, selected chapters
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias and others

VI. CASE STUDY OF PATRIARCHY GONE INSECURE: SEX AND RACISM IN AMERICA

Apr. 27. Sex and Racism
Reading: Cal Herndon, SEX AND RACISM IN AMERICA, OR Cleaver, SOUL ON ICE, OR Toni Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN
Lecturer: Steve Butler

Apr. 29. Southern Men
Reading: Lillian Smith, KILLERS OF THE DREAM
Lecturer: Sheila Tobias

Tobias, cont'd

May 4. Southern Women
Reading: Ann Scott, THE SOUTHERN LADY
Lecturer: Charleen Whisnant

May 6. Law; Economic and Professional
Reading: Lifton, ed. THE WOMAN IN AMERICA
Lecturer: Professor Bysiewicz, Univ. of Connecticut Law School
Marny White

May 11. Psycho-Sexual
Reading: Millett, PROSTITUTION (her new unpublished article)
Lecturer: Kate Millett

TAKE HOME FINAL

Variations on 'THE AMERICAN DREAM'

1

BARBIE-DOLL

This girlchild was born as usual
and presented dolls that did pee-pee
and miniature G.E. stoves and irons
and wee lipsticks the color of
strawberry candy.
Then in the magic of puberty,
a classmate said:
You have a great big nose
and fat legs.
She was healthy, tested intelligent,
possessed strong arms and back,
abundant sexual drive and
manual dexterity.
She went to and fro apologizing.
Everyone heard a fat nose
on thick legs.
She was advised to play coy,
advised to come on hearty,
exercise, diet, smile and turn purple.
Her good nature wore out
like a fan belt.
So she cut off her nose and her legs
and offered them up.
In the casket displayed on satin,
with the undertaker's cosmetics
painted on,
a turned-up nose of putty,
dressed in a pink and white nightie,
everybody said,
Doesn't she look pretty?
Consummation at last.
To every woman a happy ending.

© Marge Piercy

2

The term "groupie" specifically refers to young women who are always found with rock groups. Because they sleep with rock musicians and because their sexual promiscuity is very open they are set apart from other women. Are they any different?...

The groupie is the housewife of the rock culture. Her services are free. Her primary function is sexual and is seen as a service which helps men do their job better. One rock musician put it very well:

> ...when you're on the road you got to have some of that. Like when the band's been on the road for three weeks or more, you get tired and you get irritable. We'll have fights, you know? Not real fights, but arguments over stupid little bullshit things that don't matter. It's the tension of the road, man. Groupies relieve that tension. You get laid and it's cool. You don't feel like hasslin' anybody.

If a groupie is "successful," she may move from one night lays in hotel rooms to living with a rock performer. For him, she performs the traditional female tasks: cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing, and serving in addition to sex. Unlike the housewife in the nuclear family, she may be servant to a number of men: the entire rock group, its road managers and friends. If a groupie has a child it's her responsibility whether or not she is living with a man.

©Andrea Solomon, MOVING OUT, March 1971.

WOMEN IN AMERICAN CULTURE

Agate Krouse
Wisconsin State University

1. THE POSITION OF AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE PAST
   THE FEMINISTS: THE STRUGGLE FOR SUFFRAGE AND OTHER RIGHTS
   Reading: Eleanor Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
   Andrew Sinclair, THE BETTER HALF: THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN
   Max Lerner, AMERICA AS A CIVILIZATION
   Robert E. Riegel, AMERICAN FEMINISTS
   Ishbel Ross, CHARMERS AND CRANKS

2. WOMEN AS PORTRAYED BY AMERICAN MALE WRITERS
   Reading: James Fenimore Cooper, THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS
   Henry James, DAISY MILLER
   Harold Frederick, THE DAMNATION OF THERON WARE or William Faulkner, LIGHT IN AUGUST
   Philip Roth, WHEN SHE WAS GOOD
   Selections from Leslie Fiedler, LOVE AND DEATH IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

3. WOMEN AS PORTRAYED BY AMERICAN FEMALE WRITERS
   THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO AMERICAN LITERATURE
   Reading: Susanah Rowson, CHARLOTTE TEMPLE or Harriet Beecher Stowe, UNCLE TOM'S CABIN
   Sarah Orne Jewett, THE COUNTRY OF POINTED FIRS
   Willa Cather, MY ANTONIA
   Edith Wharton, THE AGE OF INNOCENCE
   Christina Stead, THE MAN WHO LOVED CHILDREN
   Selections from the poetry of Anne Bradstreet, Emily Dickinson, Edna St.Vincent Millay, Amy Lowell, Marianne Moore, Elizabeth Bishop, Denise Levertov, Anne Sexton, Sylvia Plath
   Selections from the short stories of Mary Wilkins Freeman, Ellen Glasgow, Katherine Anne Porter, Mary McCarthy, Carson McCullers, Flannery O'Connor, Shirley Jackson, Jean Stafford

4. WOMEN TODAY: "YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY, BABY" or "WOMEN ARE A MINORITY GROUP?"
   Reading: Simone de Beauvoir, THE SECOND SEX
   Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE
   Seymour M. Farber, ed. THE POTENTIAL OF WOMAN
   Jay Lifton, ed. THE WOMAN IN AMERICA
   Robert Theobald, ed. DIALOGUE ON WOMEN

Footnote to the Course Outline

In addition to the reading required according to the course outline, each student will be expected to do more specialized reading on a specific topic, to write a paper based on that reading, and to read some of the best papers done by members of the class. The following are some of the possible topics for individual papers. These are only examples rather than items in a comprehensive list.

1. Interesting individual feminists: e.g., Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Tubman, etc
2. Interesting individual literary figures: e. g., Margaret Fuller, Louisa May Alcott, Harriet Monroe, Susan Sontag, etc.
3. Significant statements concerning the rights of women (may include both American and English sources): e.g., John Stuart Mill's ON THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN, Mary Wollstonecraft's A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN, Lydia Maria Child's THE HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF WOMEN, IN VARIOUS AGES AND NATIONS, ...
4. Women as pioneers in various fields: e. g., Mary Lyon, Prudence Crandall, Anna Howard Shaw, etc.

Krouse, cont'd

5. Significant parallels and relationships: e.g., the abolitionists, the Quakers, the growth of unions, the stereotypes of women compared to the stereotypes of Negroes, etc.
6. The description and explanations of oddities: e.g., Bloomers, Carry Nation, etc.
7. The image of contemporary women as reflected in television programs and commercials, women's magazines, contemporary novels, etc.
8. Women in American drama: e.g., the American reception of THE DOLL'S HOUSE, Lillian Hellman, Edward Albee's women, etc.
9. Description and evaluation of significant contributions by women in the student's special field of interest: e.g., Margaret Mead, Susanna K. Langer, Mary E. Beard, etc.
10. Any substitutions of relevant works and writers for those found in the syllabus.

Suggested Texts

Simone de Beauvoir, THE SECOND SEX
Sculley Bradley, et. al. THE AMERICAN TRADITION IN LITERATURE, Norton, 2 Vols.
Willa Cather, MY ANTONIA
James Feminore Cooper, THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS
Seymour M. Farber, ed., THE POTENTIAL OF WOMAN
William Faulkner, LIGHT IN AUGUST
Coleman, Richard P., Gerald Handel, and Lee Rainwater, WORKINGMAN'S WIFE: HER PERSONALITY, WORLD AND LIFE STYLE. NY, 1959
Daly, Mary. THE CHURCH AND THE SECOND SEX. NY, 1968
Dell, Floyd. WOMEN AS WORLD BUILDERS: STUDIES IN MODERN FEMINISM. Chicago, 1913
Ellmann, Mary, THINKING ABOUT WOMEN. NY, 1968
Fiedler, Leslie. LOVE AND DEATH IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL. Rev. ed., NY, 1966
Flexner, Eleanor. CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. NY, 1959
Friedan, Betty, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, NY, 1963
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. WOMEN AND ECONOMICS, 1898. Harper Torchbooks
Gruberg, Martin. WOMEN IN AMERICAN POLITICS. NY, 1968
HANDBOOK ON WOMEN WORKERS, US Dept. of Labor, Wash. D. C. 1965
Handlin, Oscar. RACE AND NATIONALITY IN AMERICAN LIFE. Boston, 1957
Hunt, Morton. HER INFINITE VARIETY: THE AMERICAN WOMAN AS LOVER, RIVAL AND MATE. NY, 1962
Jessup, Josephine L. THE FAITH OF OUR FEMINISTS. NY, 1965
Jones, Beverly. TOWARDS A FEMALE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. Nashville, 1968
Kraditor, Aileen S. IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1890-1920, NY,1965
_____ UP FROM THE PEDESTAL, NY, 1968
Lamson, Peggy. FEW ARE CHOSEN: AMERICAN WOMEN IN POLITICAL LIFE TODAY. NY, 1968
Lerner, Max. AMERICA AS A CIVILIZATION. NY, 1957
Leonard, E. et.al. THE AMERICAN WOMAN IN COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY TIMES, 1565-1800: A SYLLABUS WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1962
Lifton, Jay R. ed., THE WOMAN IN AMERICA, Boston, 1965
Robert E. Riegel, AMERICAN FEMINISTS
Ishbel Ross, CHARMERS AND CRANKS
Harold Frederick, THE DAMNATION OF THERON WARE
Philip Roth, WHEN SHE WAS GOOD
Henry James, DAISY MILLER
Sarah Orne Jewett, THE COUNTRY OF POINTED FIRS
Susanah Rowson, CHARLOTTE TEMPLE
Andrew Sinclair, THE BETTER HALF: THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN
Christina Stead, THE MAN WHO LOVED CHILDREN
Harriet Beecher Stowe, UNCLE TOM'S CABIN
Robert Theobald, ed., DIALOGUE ON WOMEN
Edith Wharton, THE AGE OF INNOCENCE

Supplementary Bibliography

There is a vast amount of material that is directly or indirectly relevant to this course (cf. Men in American Culture). This list includes only general studies. Additional useful materials may be found in periodicals, specialized bibliographies in many of the books listed, individual studies of the writers to be discussed, etc.

SEX ROLES AND INEQUALITY

American Studies
1971-72

Carol Ehrlich
University of Maryland

Tradition is a powerful means of maintaining an oppressed group in its place. Perhaps the strongest force which has kept women down is the traditional set of sex role definitions. This course will examine the history and development of the ideology of sex role stereotyping, in the context of the current movement to smash the restrictive mold of sex role definitions.

Reading List

1. Cynthia F. Epstein, WOMAN'S PLACE: OPTIONS AND LIMITS IN PROFESSIONAL CAREERS. Berkeley: Univ. Calif., 1971.

2. Ruth Herschberger, ADAM'S RIB. NY: Harper & Row, 1970.

3. NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR. Order from Radical Feminism, PO Box AA Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY, 10011.

4. Carol Ehrlich, "Stereotypes of the Female in Recent Marriage and Family Textbooks," photocopy.

5. Dean Knudsen, "The Declining Status of Women: Popular Myths and the Failure of Functionalist Thought," SOCIAL FORCES, vol. 48, Dec. 1969.

6. Joan Jordan, "The Place of American Women: Ecomonic Exploitation of Women," Order from New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118

7. Naomi Weisstein, "Kinde, Kuche, Kirche as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female." New England Free Press.

8. Warren Ten Houten, "The Black Family: Myth and Reality," PSYCHIATRY, vol. 33, May, 1970, 145-173.

9. Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., "Industrialization and the American Family: A Look Backward." AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 31 (June 1966), 326-337.

10. Ann Landers, "Are You Ashamed to be a Homemaker?" FAMILY CIRCLE, Feb,1968.

11. Marilyn Webb, "America's Comic Culture," THE GUARDIAN, Apr. 12, 1969.

12. Susan Brownmiller, "Sisterhood is Powerful," NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, March 15, 1970.

13. Evelyn Reed, "Problems of Women's Liberation," NY: Merit, 1969.

14. Beverly Jones and Judith Brown, "Toward a Female Liberation Movement," New England Free Press.

15. Kathleen Gough, "The Origin of the Family," UP FROM UNDER, Jan/Feb 1971.

16. Sandra L. and Daryl J. Bem, "Training the Woman to Know Her Place: The Power of a Nonconscious Ideology," WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION. Fall, 196

17. James R. McGovern, "Anna Howard Shaw: New Approaches to Feminism," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY, 3 (Winter 1969-70), 135-153.

ON RESERVE: Maccoby, THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEX DIFFERENCES, 1966; Parsons and Bales FAMILY, SOCIALIZATION AND INTERACTION PROCESS, 1955; Billingsley, BLACK FAMILIES IN WHITE AMERICA; Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS, 1970; Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE.

MASCULINITY AND MALE SEXUALITY IN AMERICAN CULTURE

English Department
Fall, 1971

Joseph Cady
Rutgers University

This fall I'll be teaching a course on a subject that's logically related to the concern expressed in the ASA's memorandum, on on conceptions of Masculinity and Male Sexuality in American Culture. I'm starting from the assumption that, just as Baldwin has said that the black problem in America is really the white problem and the Gay Liberation folk are saying that the homosexual problem is really a heterosexual problem, the "woman problem" is to a large extent really a manhood problem. So the course will be designed to define and trace the origins and developments of various conceptions of masculinity through American history (with concentration on the twentieth century), looking at the forms they've taken in literature, art, and popular culture. I don't think I'll be pushing any particular doctrine in the course; mainly we'll be trying to define various ideas of masculinity and to see how they've affected conceptions of the self, of relations with women, of political role and priorities, etc.

Here's our projected syllabus. I'd be interested in hearing any reactions your commission might have to such a course and would appreciate it if you could put me in touch with others working in the same area--I haven't come across anyone else who's trying out a similar subject now. The course will begin with Millett and Tiger, to establish some terms and a dialectic, then move historically to the twentieth century, returning to Whitman toward the end to see how he prefigures some modern attitudes:

Millett, the "Theory of Sexual Politics" section from SEXUAL POLITICS.

Tiger, MEN IN GROUPS.

The Colonial Gentleman: selections from the SECRET DIARY OF WILLIAM BYRD.

Popular Nineteenth-Century Conceptions of Male Enterprise and "Pluck":
Alger, RAGGED DICK and MARK, THE MATCH BOY.

The Popular Western Hero Crystallized: Wister, THE VIRGINIAN.

Hemingway, stories from THE SNOWS OF KILIMANJARO (e.g., "Short, Happy Life of Francis McComber").

The Popular Detective Hero: Spillane, I, THE JURY.

Manhood in the Military: Shaw, THE YOUNG LIONS, plus current recruitment materials from the Armed Forces.

Contemporary Male Magazines: e.g., PLAYBOY, NUGGET, SCREW.

Mailer, "The White Negro," "The Homosexual Villain," THE PRISONER OF SEX.

Contemporary Black Manhood: selected essays from Cleaver, SOUL ON ICE and Baldwin, NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME.

A unit, using visual materials, on changing styles in male appearance, clothing, hair, etc.

Whitman: "The Sleepers," CALAMUS poems, others.

New conceptions of manhood, contemporary challenges to the macho ethic:
The Male Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements (speakers and publications).

WOMEN IN AMERICA

American Civilization
Spring, 1971

Nancy Weiss and Ann Wood
Princeton University

A reading and research seminar on the changing status, sensibilities, and goals of women in America, particularly during the nineteenth century but with some emphasis on recent developments.

Required Purchases

Eleanor Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE
Aileen Kraditor, THE IDEAS OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
Kate Chopin, THE AWAKENING
Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, THE GATES AJAR
Helen Mayer Hacker, "Women as a Minority Group," SOCIAL FORCES, XXX (Oct, 19
60-69. Bobbs-Merrill reprint.
Barbara M. Cross, ed., THE EDUCATED WOMAN IN AMERICA

Optional Purchases

Christopher Lasch, THE NEW RADICALISM IN AMERICA
Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE
Jane Addams, TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE

1. Introductory meeting

2.&3. HEALTH AND HYSTERIA

Reading: Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," MIDCONTINENT AMERICAN STUDIES JOURNAL, X (Spring, 1969), 5-15.
Frederick Hollick, THE MARRIAGE GUIDE (1860), pp. 37-41, 292-295, 360-
Combe, "Female Insanity," pp. 461-3.
Catharine E. Beecher, LETTERS TO THE PEOPLE ON HEALTH AND HAPPINESS (1855), pp. 112-133, 164-174.
Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "The Yellow Wallpaper," in W. D. Howels, ed., THE GREAT MODERN AMERICAN SHORT STORIES (L920), pp. 320-337.

4 : 5. WOMEN IN THE HOME AND AT WORK

Reading: Sarah Josepha Hale, MANNERS (1868), pp. 13-24, 44-5. 52-64, 86-91, 297-300, 310-15, 354-60.
Charlotte Perkins Gilman, THE HOME (1903), pp. 14-82, 160-184, 206-30, 274-81.
ONE of the following:
Edith Abbott, WOMEN IN INDUSTRY, pp. 1-86, 317-323.
Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, TECHNOLOGY AND WOMAN'S WORK, part I
Annie Nathan Meyer, ed., WOMAN'S WORK IN AMERICA, ch. 11 and 6&9 or 7.
ONE of the following:
Sarah H. Bradford, SCENES IN THE LIFE OF HARRIET TUBMAN, or HARRIET TUBMAN: THE MOSES OF HER PEOPLE
Norman R. Yetman, LIFE UNDER THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION": SELECTIONS FROM THE SLAVE NARRATIVE COLLECTION--selections by women
Elleanor Eldridge, MEMOIRS OF EILEANOR ELDRIDGE
/Harriet Jacobs/, INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL, ed. Lydia Chi
Elizabeth Keckley, BEHIND THE SCENES . . .
AUNT SALLY, OR THE CROSS THE WAY TO FREEDOM . . . (Rare Book Room)
B. A. Botkin, ed., LAY MY BURDEN DOWN: A FOLK HISTORY OF SLAVERY, part II, pp. 61-138 (selections on women)

6 & 7. WOMEN AND RELIGION

Reading: "Pastoral Letter" (1837) in THE HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, vol. I (1889), pp. 81-82.
Sarah Grimke, LETTERS ON THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES (1838), letters 9-2
Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, THE GATES AJAR (1868)
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, THE WOMAN'S BIBLE (1895), part I, pp. 5-22, 60-1, part II, pp. 113-5, 161-73, 215-17.

Paper Topics
1. The theological opposition to Calvinism
2. Comparison of Harriet Beecher Stowe's MINISTER'S WOOING and GATES AJAR
3. The Unitarian opposition
4. Role of minister's wife
5. Women missionaries
6. First women ministers

8 & 9. WOMEN AND LITERATURE
Reading: William R. Taylor and Christopher Lasch, "Two 'Kindred Spirits': Sorority and Family in New England, 1839-1846," NEW ENGLAND QUARTERLY, XXXVI (1963), 23-41.
Grace Greenwood, GREENWOOD LEAVES (1849), pp. 309-313
Fanny Fern, FOLLY AS IT FLIES (1864), pp. 61-65
Kate Chopin, THE AWAKENING (1899)
Mrs. Sigourney, "The Father" and "The Patriarch" in SKETCHES (1836)

Paper Topics
1. The image of the woman writer or artist
2. Economic factors: capturing the literary market
3. Women and journalism
4. Women and "local color"

10 & 11. WOMEN AND EDUCATION
Reading: L. Clark Seelye, THE EARLY HISTORY OF SMITH COLLEGE (1923), 1-52, 181-228
Barbara Cross, ed., THE EDUCATED WOMAN IN AMERICA (1965), I & III.
Emma Willard, "Prophetic Strains" (1830), in FULFILLMENT OF A PROMISE, pp. 10-21.
Edward H. Clarke, SEX IN EDUCATION (1873), pp. 13-83.

Paper Topics
1. Male resistance to women's education
2. Study of one of the first important women's schools or colleges
3. The fight for coeducation
4. The American Association of University Women
5. Education for black women
6. Medical training for women

12 & 13. ABOLITIONISM AND THE ORIGINS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT
Reading: Helen M. Hacker, "Women as a Minority Group" Bobbs-Merrill reprint
Gerda Lerner, THE GRIMKE SISTERS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA (1967) ch. 8-12
Aileen Kraditor, MEANS AND ENDS IN AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM, (1969) ch.3.
Angelina E. Grimke, LETTERS TO CATHERINE E. BEECHER (1838) letters 11-13
Angelina E. Grimke, APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF THE SOUTH (1836) pp. 16-27.
Catharine E. Beecher, SLAVERY AND ABOLITIONISM (1837), pp. 26-35, 90-105, 110-111, 120-3, 126-41.
Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L Dumond, eds., LETTERS OF THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, ANGELINA GRIMKE WELD, AND SARAH GRIMKE, Vol I, pp. 414-15, 424-37; Vol. II, pp. 636-640.
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "This is the Negro's Hour," in HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, vol. II, pp. 94-95

Paper Topics
1. Women and the underground railroad
2. Reaction of southern women to the abolitionists
3. Study in psychology and politics of one woman abolitionist
4. Black women and the abolitionist movement

14 & 15. THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
Reading: Aileen Kraditor, THE IDEAS OF THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT (1965)
"Declaration of Sentiments," HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, I, 70-73.
Sojourner Truth in HWS, vol. I, pp. 115-17
"Address of Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker," HWS, Vol. II, 458-61.
Lillie D. Blake in HWS, Vol. IV, p. 39

Rev. Olympia Brown in HWS, Vol. IV, pp. 147-149
Mrs. Butt in HWS, Vol V, pp. 76-77
Belle Kearney in HWS, Vol. IV, pp. 82-83
Emma Goldman, "Woman Suffrage," in ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS (1969), pp. 195-212.

Paper Topics

1. The split in the women's party in the 1840's over slavery and the woman iss
2. Victoria Woodhull and the Beecher trial
3. Veering of the movement to concern with immigration and race
4. Comparison of the American and English suffrage movements
5. Study in psychology of any one woman suffragist
6. The arguments against woman suffrage
7. The Fourteenth Amendment and the woman question
8. Study of the suffrage movement in one state
9. Women's magazines on the suffrage movement
10. Compare Margaret Deland's THE RISING TIDE (a novel of the suffrage movement) with a historical narrative of the movement
11. National Women's Party

16 &17. WOMEN AS REFORMERS

Reading: David M. Kennedy, BIRTH CONTROL IN AMERICA: THE CAREER OF MARGARET SANGER (1970), ch. 1-3
Arthur Mann, YANKEE REFORMERS IN THE URBAN AGE (1954), ch. 9
Christopher Lasch, THE NEW RADICALISM IN AMERICA (1965)
Jane Addams, TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE (1910) ch. 1-6
Margaret Deland, "The Change in the Feminine Ideal," ATLANTIC MONTHLY, CV (March 1910), 289-302.

Paper Topics

1. The temperance movement
2. Lillian Wald and the Henry Street Settlement House
3. Mary White Ovington: social work and the Negro problem
4. Women and the fight for prohibition
5. Florence Kelley, Josephine Goldmark, and the National Consumers' League
6. Margaret Dreier Robins and the National Women's Trade Union League
7. The General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Women's Club Movement
8. The Young Women's Christian Association
9. Ida Tarbell: The woman as muckraker
10. The fight for the regulation of prostitution

18 & 19. FEMINISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Reading: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, WOMEN AND ECONOMICS (1898), 1-121
Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE (1963), ch. 14
Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS (1970), pp. 1-156.

PAPERS:

Each student will be expected to write two short (8-12 page) research papers during the course of the semester. The papers are to be submitted in duplicate at the American Civilization Program office by 11:00 am on the Monday preceding the seminar meeting to which they are relevant. Students should come to class each week having read the papers submitted by members of their seminar. The paper topics listed on the syllabus are meant to be guides to subjects of importance which can be researched in Firestone Library. Students should, however, feel free to develop other topics which may interest them in consultation with their instructor. Final selection of paper topics must be made at the seminar meetings on Feb. 17 and 18.

There will be no examinations.

WOMEN'S HISTORY IN AMERICA

American Civilization 191
Revised, 1969-70

Maurine Greenwald
Brown University

I. INTRODUCTION: WHY STUDY WOMEN'S HISTORY?

David Potter, "American Women and the American Character," in John A. Hague, ed., AMERICAN CHARACTER AND CULTURE.

Aileen Kraditor, "Women in History and Historiography," UP FROM THE PEDESTAL: SELECTED WRITINGS IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN FEMINISM.

II. THE IMAGES OF WOMEN

Leslie Fiedler, "The Revenge of Woman: From Lucy to Lolita," LOVE AND DEATH IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL.

Diana Trilling, "The Image of Women in Contemporary Literature," in Robert Jay Lifton, ed., THE WOMAN IN AMERICA.

Mary Ellmann, THINKING ABOUT WOMEN.

Harvey Cox, "Sex and Secularization," THE SECULAR CITY.

Jamie Friscof, "Textbooks and Conditioning," WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION, Fall, 1969.

Leah Heyn, "Children's Books," ibid.

Donna Keck, "The Art of Maiming Women," ibid.

American paintings, slides from the art department shown in class

III. PARALLEL PROBLEMS: BLACKS AND WOMEN

Gunnar Myrdal, "A Parallel to the Negro Problem," Appendix 5 in AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, Vol. II.

Helen Matthews Lewis, THE WOMAN MOVEMENT AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT--PARALLEL STRUGGLES FOR RIGHTS.

Helen Hacker, "Woman as a Minority Group," SOCIAL FORCES (Oct., 1951).

Naomi Weisstein, "Woman as Nigger," PSYCHOLOGY TODAY (Oct., 1969).

Calvin Hernton, SEX AND RACISM IN AMERICA.

IV. BLACK NATIONALISM AND BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A DIALOGUE

LeRoi Jones, "American Sexual References: Black Male," HOME.

Eldridge Cleaver, "To All Black Women, From All Black Men," SOUL ON ICE.

Frantz Fanon, "The Woman of Color and the White Man" and "The Man of Color and the White Woman," BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASKS.

Toni Cade, ed., THE BLACK WOMAN: AN ANTHOLOGY.

V. THE FAMILY IN AMERICA

Ruth Anshen, ed., THE FAMILY: ITS FUNCTION AND DESTINY.

Philippe Aries, CENTURIES OF CHILDHOOD.

Arthur Calhoun, HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY.
Franklin Frazier, THE NEGRO FAMILY.
Hazel Kyrik, THE FAMILY IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

VI. ORIGINS OF THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, 1830-1860

Catherine Beecher, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, THE AMERICAN WOMAN'S HOME.
John Abbott, THE MOTHER AT HOME.
GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK.
Andrew Jackson Downing, ARCHITECTURE OF COUNTRY HOUSES.
Thomas R. Dew, "Dissertation on the Characteristic Differences between the Sexes," in UP FROM THE PEDESTAL.

VII. ALTERNATE FAMILY STRUCTURES, AMERICAN STYLE

John Humphrey Noyes, HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS.
William Hinds, AMERICAN COMMUNITIES AND CO-OPERATIVE COLONIES.
Charles Nordhoff, COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF THE UNITED STATES.
Discussion of present communal living experiments

VIII. FEMINIST THEORISTS

Nineteenth century:
Mary Wollstonecraft, A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.
John Stuart Mill, SUBJECTION OF WOMEN.
Sarah Grimke, LETTERS ON THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES AND THE CONDITION OF WOMAN.
Margaret Fuller, WOMAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.
Charlotte Perkins Gilman, WOMEN AND ECONOMICS.

Twentieth century:
Crystal Eastman, articles written for LIBERATOR.
Lorine Pruette, WOMEN AND LEISURE.
Anna Parsons, WOMAN'S DILEMMA.
Suzanne LaFollette, CONCERNING WOMEN.
Simone de Beauvoir, THE SECOND SEX.
Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE.
Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS.

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Vida Scudder, A LISTENER IN BABEL.
Arthur Bullard, COMRADE YETTA.
Charlotte Teller, THE CAGE.
Estelle Baker, THE ROSE DOOR.
Reginald Kauffman, THE SPIDER'S WEB.
Florence Converse, THE CHILDREN OF LIGHT.

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XII. THE MIDDLE-CLASS WOMAN'S DILEMMA, 1890-1930

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Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "The Breakdown," THE LIVING OF CHARLOTTE GILMAN.
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XIII. ACTIVISM ON SEVERAL FRONTS, 1890-1950

See list of autobiographies

XIV. REVOLUTION IN THE MAKING: CONTEMPORARY FEMINISM

Discussion of writings on the women's liberation movement

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AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES
compiled by Maurine Greenwald

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Maud Nathan, ONCE UPON A TIME AND TODAY, 1933.
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Jane Addams, TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE, 1910.
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Mary Anderson, WOMEN AT WORK, 1951.
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Agnes Nestor, WOMEN'S LABOR LEADER: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AGNES NESTOR, 19
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COMMENTARY: On Teaching Women's History

Maurine Greenwald

Women as a social group have largely been omitted from both standard and specialized accounts of American history. While no conscious conspiracy is responsible for this omission, historians' neglect is symptomatic of our culture's attitude toward women. In teaching two seminars on women's history, at Brown University during 1969-70, I attempted to understand the nature of this attitude since the early nineteenth century. This paper is an endeavor to communicate some sense of the process involved in my research and teaching. I have included a discussion of my approach, source materials, and classroom experience. My closing comments suggest the value of women's history.

Formulating the course had radical implications: it demanded that I ask basic questions about the economy (the use of women as a reserve labor force, the concentration of women in particular jobs), the political system (the historical function and relative importance of the franchise), and the social system (the predominance in our culture of a particular family structure, child-rearing pattern, and division of labor). Additionally, it forced me to confront the problems of teaching--relating to students, creating a humane learning environment, encouraging the examination of problems from several points of view. Throughout the year I constantly re-evaluated the syllabus and classroom dynamics. The students' participation in this process was crucial. Their views have contributed to this presentation. The syllabus has been revised for this paper so that others may benefit from my experience and my current thoughts on the subject.

The initial and most basic problem I faced in researching women's history was that of focus. Should the heroines of our culture be the reference point--the Harriet Beecher Stowes, the Amelia Earharts, the Eleanor Roosevelts? Should the course chart the "progress" of women, each decade showing women winning increasing social, political and economic equality? Should cultural prejudices and discriminatory policies define the emphasis? Should the course focus on middle-class or working-class, white or black, native or immigrant women? Were the traditional social, political, and economic divisions of general history adequate to the study of women's experiences, or was there an approach especially suited to the examination of women's history?

My answer to the question of focus grew directly from my introduction to women's studies--the writings of Jane Addams. Addams explores the relationship between women's experiences and the history of the family. In her essay "Filial Relations," for example, she reveals the conflict between woman as a family possession and woman as a productive member of society. She describes the paradoxical situation of the middle-class woman, whose privileged yet sheltered position permits her to become aware of social problems, while it simultaneously thwarts her efforts to express her political and social consciousness effectively. This insight suggested to me the need for developing an historical perspective on the cliche that women's place is in the home.

Because Jane Addams' comments spoke so much to the present, I was encouraged to begin my research from the standpoint of current attitudes toward women's "proper sphere" and the importance of the family. I attempted to explore the origins of those attitudes. Particular questions were raised by this approach: what is the historical connection between women's domesticity and the needs of the American economy? Do women constitute a conservative and stabilizing force? What political forms have women's social self-

perception taken? How has technological change affected women's status, self-image, and activities? What critiques have feminists offered of women's actual and presumed social roles? In short, I attempted to understand the terms in which women have been viewed by the culture, the economic, social and political significance of those attitudes, and the context in which self-conscious women activists and writers have viewed themselves and their problems.

The availability of primary sources determined the boundaries of the questions I could reasonably begin to answer. Descriptions of the experience of women servants, slaves, immigrants, pioneers, and factory workers remain buried in court records, journals, letters, travelogs, and newspapers. Hopefully new historical approaches will be developed to enable us to explore the history of the "common" woman. In contrast, materials on the middle-class woman's history, particularly the struggle for legal and political rights, are more readily available, although many are long out of print. Ultimately, sources available at Brown University libraries decided the breadth of my course.

My materials principally included sources from the fields of history, literature, and art: economic studies, political tracts, journals, diaries, autobiographies, women's magazines, household guides, architecture manuals, poetry and fiction, movies, paintings, and photographs. I tried to organize the source to reveal different aspects of a topic. For example, in illuminating the problem of the educated woman's position in American society from 1880 to 1910, I brought together Thorstein Veblen's theory of the leisure class, Charlotte Gilman's autobiography, Kate Chopin's novel THE AWAKENING, and Thomas Eakins' paintings. Veblen describes changing patterns of female domesticity against the background of industrialization. As factories, schools, and commercial farms increasingly supplanted the traditional productive work performed by women at home, the domestic orientation of women nonetheless persisted. Especially among the affluent middle and upper classes, Veblen observes the transformation of such domesticity into a role based on conspicuous consumption. While Veblen describes this change from the point of view of an observer and critic, Gilman reveals the personal trauma of trying to transcend the social attitudes which traditionally denied middle-class women a work sphere in society at large and now were denying a productive work role even at home. Chopin presents aspects of this dilemma in fictional form. Eakins, in turn, forcefully portrays on canvas the loneliness, spiritual depression, and sexual repression among such women of leisure. A discussion of the psychology of middle-class women at the turn of the century could be illuminated by any one of these sources, but taken together they begin to raise experience from an individual to a social-historical level.

The process of coordination materials presented fundamental problems. I found the task easier as I slowly developed a more comprehensive social, political, and economic framework for dealing with women's history. Initially I arranged my materials in chronological sequence. From an arbitrary starting point in the 1820's, the course progressed by thirty year intervals to the present. The continuity of particular subjects, however, was too disrupted by this approach. We would study an aspect of the labor movement, the struggle for the vote, a communal living experiment, or radical feminism, only to begin again at a later time to pick up the threads of these topics. As this difficulty became apparent after several weeks of class, discussions with students prompted me to rearrange the syllabus topically, locating the chronology within separate topics. This approach enabled us to explore the ramifications of various themes in more comprehensive terms.

My students were all undergraduates, female and male, most of whom were enrolled in Brown's American Civilization program. Originally the course was offered only to American Civilization majors as one of two options for a senior seminar requirement. However, since my course was the only one in the university which dealt directly with women's history, I permitted interested students from other disciplines to take the course during the second semester.

I encountered numerous difficulties in this my first college teaching experience. The initial classroom procedure based on students' oral reports with alternate sessions devoted to readings in common proved unsatisfactory. The oral reports failed miserably, because they were just that--reports without analysis or interpretation. We were too preoccupied with dissecting the readings rather than using them as background material for discussing particular problems. We were at first emotionally and intellectually too timid to ask penetrating questions about the nature of social relations in America, patterns of domestic and industrial labor, class structure, political reform, and mechanisms for social change. As classroom participants we tended to perform for one another rather than work in common. The initial routine, in effect, inhibited our developing a clear sense of how various articles, essays, fiction, and other material might fit together.

By reorienting the syllabus around particular topics in women's history, we began to see the forest as well as the trees. Moreover, in working together on common problems we began to relate better as people. We relaxed the relationship further by changing our meeting place from a classroom to a student's apartment. I more easily defined my role there as participant rather than as classroom expert or "judge." Consequently, students participated in the class more readily and more intensely. . . .

Research projects broadened our concerns considerably. Very often students chose to apply their historical perspective on women to research in their own major fields of interest. Thus, for example, an anthropology major, using the Israeli kibbutz as a test case, offered an interesting anthropological discussion of sex-role differentiation. Similarly an education major examined sex-role channeling in children's literature; a religious studies major examined the church's treatment of women; a creative writing major wrote a short story about women's present dilemmas. Other topics included the image of women in musical productions of the 1920's; the social, political, and medical dimensions of abortion; post-World War II psychology's definition of the normal woman; the experience of the black woman--a study of Gwendolyn Brooks; and an analysis of Margaret Sanger's crusade for birth control. . . .

Women's history makes a serious contribution to the discipline of American social history, because it assumes the existence of certain historical problems which pertain to women as women. In doing so it explores the origins, nature and function of some traditional American myths and prejudices. I was struck by the course's success in sensitizing students to underlying values and traditions, to the social, political, and economic realities of our society. Students' comments repeatedly confirmed this, both among females and males, political activists and non-activists. Students began to become aware of our culture's pervasive, but usually unarticulated sex-role ideology. This awareness prompted students to examine their personal histories and expectations. Moreover, the process of socialization along sex lines suggested parallels of channeling according to categories of class and race. They could then apply to the experiences of blacks and other oppressed minorities not only a feeling of moral indignation, but also an understanding of social process. It would be presumptucus of me to say that the study of American women's history changed my students' lives, but they have assured me that the course initiated internal dialogues on issues which they otherwise might never have contemplated.

B. PROGRAMS OF WOMEN'S STUDIES COURSES

1971-72

FIVE-COLLEGE PROGRAM IN WOMEN'S STUDIES
Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, Smith, and the Univ. of Massachusetts.

This list of courses on Women's Studies was compiled in the spring of 1971 with the assistance of the faculty representatives on the Five College Academic Policy Advisory Council.

UM	Classics 385f	Roman Views of Women	Anne Parry
UM	Education 11	Women's Awareness (Women only)	
MHC	English 102f	Seminar on Women in Literature	Sharon Seelig
MHC	English 380s	Daughters and Ducats	James Ellis
MHC	English 393f	The American Voice in Poetry	Sarah Youngblood
SC	English 346b	Literary Perspectives on Women	M. Adams and M. Schroeder
UM	English 380f	Women in Fiction: Woman as Hero	Lee Edwards
UM	English 382s	Virginia Woolf	Lee Edwards
SC	Government 303b	Seminar in Sex and Politics	Susan Bourque Jean Grossholtz
SC	Government 309b	Seminar in Public Opinion and Pressure Groups: Sex and Politics; The Impact of Sex on Power and Influence in Society	Susan Bourque
MHC	History 275f	Women in America	Charles Trout
SC	History 337b	The Women's Rights Movement in America	David Allmendinger
MHC	Latin 221f	Roman Women	Marleen Flory
UM	Latin 790s	Women in Latin Literature	Anne Parry
SC	Psychology 276a	Male and Female	Leonard Bickman
MHC	Poli. Sci. 348	Colloquium: Sex and Politics. The influence of sex on politics; societies use of sexual categories as the basis for the distribution of social and political roles; the translation of sex differences into restrictions on political participation; the effect of these restrictions on the polities ability to achieve its stated values. Readings will include John Stuart Mill, Kate Millett, Lionel Tiger, and M. Duverger.	Bourque, Grossho
HC	Social Science	Women and the Law	Lester Mazor
HC	Social Science 8	Political Women in America	Gayle Hollander
MHC	Sociology 221f	Social Roles of Women	Marjorie Childer
SC	Sociology 224b	Family and Society. Structure and function of the family in various societies. Premarital sex behavior, courtship, marriage, and family planning. Women's roles and women's rights	

Five-College Program, cont'd

MHC	Spanish 221f	Women in Hispanic Literature	
UM	Res. Coll. 390	Sex Stereotyping. Males and females taking the course will meet in separate as well as joint sessions.	Alice Sargent
MHC	Theater 350fs	Seminar on the History of Women in Theater	Daphne Reed

COMMENTARY: Five-College Committee on Women's Studies
Gayle Hollander

Defining "Women's Studies"

Before listing the major reasons for the formation of the committee and its proposed membership, it will be useful to delineate the scope of our academic concerns. In referring to Women's Studies in the Five-College area, we have in mind the following types of courses:

1. Those dealing primarily or exclusively with women and taught under the auspices of a particular department by a person trained in a specific discipline. There are many such courses among those listed in this year's Five-College list compiled by Pat Sackrey ("Courses On or About Women Offered in the Five Colleges," Jan. 15, 1971, Women's Center, Northampton).

2. Interdisciplinary approaches to the subject of women, usually taught collectively by a number of people representing various fields of study. At present there seem to be no such courses in the Valley, but an example is "Social Roles of Women in America," led by Sheila Tobias at Wesleyan Univ.

3. Courses which deal with sex roles or male-female relations in general, such as Sociology 391, "Sex and Sex Roles in Changing Society," taught at the University of Massachusetts by Charles Page. We should note that our inclusion of such courses in not done in a spirit of academic imperialism, but for the sole purpose of coordinating information on courses which are heavily oriented toward the role of women in society; often these "sex role" courses deal more with women than with men.

4. Courses on the Women's Movement. Sometimes these are included in the above categories but sometimes not; for example, "Exploring the New Feminism" by Ellen E. Morgan at the Princeton Adult School falls into this category. (Again, there seem to be no such courses in the Valley at present.)

5. Discipline or field courses at Hampshire College are Gayle Hollander's "Soviet Political Life," which has a unit on Soviet women, and Penina Glazer's seminar on political and social dissenters, "The Outsiders," which has a unit on Nineteenth Century Feminists.

6. Discipline courses which ordinarily are assumed to deal primarily with women, such as "Marriage and the Family."

This list makes it clear that Women's Studies is not an attempt to supplant or compete with any of the established scholarly disciplines in an organizational sense. Rather, it is a field concentration, much like Slavic Studies, American Studies, or any of a number of interdisciplinary associations of scholarly subject matter. As such it will augment and enrich the usual offerings in traditional disciplines and in most cases help to provide a new perspective on those fields. . . .

/etc. --specifics on Five-College Committee/

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Winter, 1970

Buffalo Women's Liberation
SUNY/Buffalo

FEMINISM LIVES!!

> In education, in marriage, in everything, disappointment is the lot of women. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer.
>
> --Lucy Stone, 1855

. . . . . .

Buffalo Women's Liberation began the process of providing for the study of women through a bulletin board course last spring. We collectively asked ourselves what we wanted to know and developed courses which would begin to answer those questions. The response of women in the university showed us that this was only a beginning and indicated the many ways in which we had to expand.

This pamphlet offers a description of the revised introductory course and additional courses which focus in an in-depth way on specific aspects of our oppression.

COURSE DESCRIPTIONS:

WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

American Studies 214

Liz Kennedy and Staff

This course is an introduction to the study of the roles, functions, and consciousness of women in US society. It will concentrate on analyzing the basis of sexual role differentiation, the relationship of women to fundamental economic and social institutions, and the function and effect of mass media in determining women's consciousness, making comparison between women of different classes. It will also consider the attempts of women in other societies to define themselves and the alternate social structures which have developed.

This term the course will have sections which do not require any prerequisite and sections which require a prerequisite of American Studies 213 or UCB 243. . .

WOMEN AND LITERATURE

Section A

B. Zimmerman

This is a course in rediscovering female culture. Our poets and novelists, when they have been allowed to exist, have been ignored, forgotten, relegated to second-place by patriarchial cultural values. But these women speak to our experiences as no man, no matter how great, can.

The thesis of this course is that any woman, in a patriarchy, who writes of her experiences, is performing an act of rebellion. We will see what forms this rebellion takes--working, sexuality, violence, insanity, suicide, lesbianism --where it is revolutionary and where it is reactionary. Of particular importance will be ways in which class and racial oppression compound the effects of male supremacy. I expect that people in the class have familiarity with women's liberation literature so that we do not have to go back over fundamentals.

A second premise of the course is that, in the most advanced and exploitative imperialist economic system ever known, "objective" literary analysis is a luxury few of us can afford. . .I am not interested in these books as "artistic" expression but as "political" expression. Since every woman's private experience is political, we will be using these books to learn about the particular historical conditions of women's oppression, and understand our own better.

Buffalo Women's Liberation, cont'd

We will select 8-10 works of the following authors: Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Gaskell, Jane Austen, Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Doris Lessing, Ann Petry, Gertrude Stein, Carson McCullers, Sylvia Plath, Denise Levertov, Diane diPrima, Gabriela Mistral, Mary McCarthy, Simone deBeauvoir, Dorothy Parker, Kate Chopin, Djuna Barnes, Colette, Joyce Carol Oates, R. Hall--journals will be used as a way of expressing our own oppression.

MEDIA

Section B — Carol Oliker, Helen & Janet

This course will attempt to set up a class-analysis of media. We shall look into ways that media is used to define and keep us in our place in society and how the media is used to oppress us as women. We shall also look for ways in which we can use it to change and better our position. Since little has been written on the subject, most of the class shall involve research and projects.

AGIT/PROP

Section C — Julie Poddy

Collectively, we will prepare a tape to submit to Radio Free People and to WBFO about Abigail Adams and the Revolutionary Colonists; Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Abolitionists; Susan B. Anthony and the Suffragists; or Rosa Luxemburg and the German Bolsheviks--whatever topic the group is most familiar with. The skills we will develop include research, writing, rhetoric, critical examination of politically appropriate music by musical criteria, technical facility with audio equipment and establishment of functional contacts in local and movement media.

As a preliminary preparation I suggest reading WHAT IS TO BE DONE, a novel by Chernyshevsky, principally because the author conveys some generous perceptions of people and uses imaginative means of engaging his readers' active participation in his narration.

CLASS, RACE AND THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

American Studies 314 — Liz Kennedy and Carol Twigg

(Prerequisite AMS 213 or UCB 243)

This course will examine the relationship between sex, class and race as they affect the oppression of women. We will focus on both the description of the life of women in different racial, class and ethnic groups and the development of a theoretical framework for understanding the forms of common oppression and the differences resulting from the varying conditions of women's position in society.

This term the focus will be on theoretical and political questions framed in the following way:
POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION. I am interested in analyzing class, sex and race as political categories from three theoretical standpoints: Marxist-Leninism, feminism and black nationalism. We will first develop a Marxist understanding of capitalist society, which entails a dialectical materialist conception of history. Then, we will look at the women's liberation movement with emphasis on its feminist elements, hoping to develop a total understanding of the complexities of female oppression according to sex. Next, we'll look at the black liberation movement with emphasis on racial oppression. Then, we will discuss a Marxist-Leninist analysis of class oppression and its view of the special oppression of women and national minorities. We will see where these three views come into conflict with an eye toward planning a strategy which will destroy all three types of oppression. In line with developing this strategy, we will discuss organizational forms which are necessary to bring about our liberation. In short, if we wish to bring about all three types of liberation, how can we insure that a socialist revolution will do so and what is the best way to make that revolution?

Buffalo Women's Liberation, cont'd

Some of the discussions that I anticipate are;
Which category is primary--class, race or sex?
What is the relation between the American revolution and the rest of the world?
Should blacks and women have their own autonomous organizations?
What about the black woman--is her class, race or sex primary to her oppress
What form of organization is appropriate for the US--Vanguard party (who will be in it?), mass de-centralized movement, etc.?

Readings will consist of various articles, essays, manifestoes, strategies, etc. This assumes a certain amount of awareness on the student's part in each area as the reading will be heavily theoretical.

WOMEN IN NON-WESTERN SOCIETIES

AMS 316 & 516 L. Kennedy, M. Small, and A. Keil

This course is designed to develop our understanding of women in other societies. Its main focus will be to analyze the relationship between the structure of society and the position of women. Although we will spend the majority of time examining women in specific societies we will also attempt to develop a theoretical framework for understanding the social bases of women's roles.

This semester we will open with an examination of existing theoretical statements on women. We will follow this by a consideration of what it means to be an American studying other cultures in 1970. Our concentration will be on societies in West Africa, China, and South America.

ENGLISH 216

Carol Olicker

This course will be an extension of last term's course, and, as such will presuppose a basic understanding of the forms and varieties of woman's oppression in contemporary American society. From this basic understanding we will examine the following works. We will start off taking a brief but hard look at the "earth goddess" as she appears in William Faulkner's THE HAMLET We will examine the way this mythic concept has shaped our consciousness of our selves as women, how it has influenced our identities. We'll also read SANCTUAR and AS I LAY DYING with special attention to the characterizations of the women.

Next we will read SAVE ME THE WALTZ by Zelda Fitzgerald and TENDER IS THE NIGHT by her husband F. Scott. Both novels deal with some of the same time and events in their life together, but the difference in point of view is classic. The rest of the term will be spent reading the works of women. They will be taken from the following: THE STREET by Ann Petry, COLLECTED WORKS OF DOROTHY PARKER, THE WELL OF LONELINESS by R. Hall, THE GOLDEN NOTEBOOK by Doris Lessing, MEMBER OF THE WEDDING by Carson McCullers, THE PURE AND THE IMPURE by Collette, THE NIGHTWOOD by Djuna Barnes and poetry by Denise Levertov, Sylvia Plath and Diane di Prima.

Students will be required to keep journals or write several papers during the term. This will not be a lecture course; students will share a large part of the responsibility in the functioning of the class. We will read about a novel a week--if you do not have the time to do that--please do not register for the course.

ATTENTION MEN!! SOCIETY, SEX ROLES AND LIBERATION

Social Sciences 336 Ken Barney

This seminar will provide an opportunity for men to deal with the issues raised by the Women's Liberation Movement. Women's writings will be used to get into an analysis of old and new conceptions of "masculinity" and "femininity." The stifling of humanity in America will be analyzed with special emphasis on male chauvinism and the oppression of women. We will examine the relationship between women's struggle for their liberation and the liberation

of all, including men, through the creation of socialism and community. It will be necessary to examine our own lives, identities and relationships with emphasis on our own chauvinism.

Although all of us experience oppression, "men" as such cannot be defined as an oppressed group. Therefore we have a special problem which is to conceive of the kind of practice that might accompany this analysis and new consciousness.

Women's Liberation writings will be the main sources used, but there will be other material. In addition, there may be an occasional guest lecturer or discussant for certain topics. (An example of such a topic would be the growing revolt of some American athletes against super authoritarianism, super-aggressiveness and exploitation in athletics.) It may be possible to arrange some day-care center work for some interested men.

C. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES COURSES

WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

American Studies 214

Liz Kennedy and Staff
SUNY/Buffalo

I. INTRODUCTION: Who Are The Women of America?

READINGS: Section 1
"Woman and Her Mind: The Story of Everyday Life" by Meredith Tax, NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR, p. 10
"The Women" from KILLERS OF THE DREAM by Lillian Smith, Pt.II,Ch.4
"Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female" by Frances Beale, THE BLACK WOMAN, p. 90 or in SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL
"Tell Martha Not to Moan" by Shirley Williams, THE BLACK WOMAN, P.42
"Reena" by Paule Marshall, THE BLACK WOMAN, p. 20

QUESTIONS: Section 1
a. What insights did KILLERS OF THE DREAM give you into the role of white women in the South?
b. How would you personally relate to the psychological frustrations described by Meredith Tax in her article?
c. What is the relationship of the black woman's struggle to the white women's liberation movement?

READINGS: Section 2
"An Ojibwa Woman in the City" by Edna Manitowabi
"The Mexican American Woman" by Enriqueta Lonqaue Vasquez, SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, incl. introduction.
"To My White Working Class Sisters" by Debby D'Amico, UP FROM UNDER, Aug/Sept, pg. 15
"Not Only Trees Grow in Brooklyn"--two interviews, UP FROM UNDER, Aug/Sept, p. 19
"We May Not Have Much, But There's A Lot of Us"--a discussion, LEVIATHAN, vol. 2, #1, May 1970, p. 10.

QUESTIONS: Section 2
a. What kinds of exploitation do Third World women experience?
b. How does the situation of the white working class women compare to that of Third World women?

READINGS: Section 3
"Notes of A Radical Lesbian" by Martha Shelley, SISTERHOOD
THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Betty Friedan, Ch. 1,"The Problem That Has No Name"
"Why Women's Liberation" by Marlene Dixon

Kennedy, cont'd

QUESTIONS: Section 3
a. What are some of the stereotypes that society has generally attributed to lesbians? What new perspectives does Martha Shelly give to the life style of the lesbian?
b. We have examined the personal statements from the women of America. Perhaps many of us can best relate to Friedan; however, it is only one expression of the discontent felt by all women in America.
c. According to Marlene Dixon, why is there a necessity for an autonomous women's movement?

II. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
READINGS: Section 1
from THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, by Frederick Engels, Chs. I, II, III, and V
QUESTIONS: Section 1
According to Engels, primitive society was not exploitative. Why?

READINGS: Section 2
from THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, Ch. IX
"The Myth of Women's Inferiority" by Evelyn Reed
QUESTIONS: Section 2
What material conditions brought about the end of matriliny and necessitated the advent of the patriarchal state?

READINGS: Section 3
"Male Supremacy, Private Property and the Family: A Critique of Engels" by Carol Giardina
from THE SECOND SEX by Simone de Beauvoir, Chs. III, IV, V, VI, VII
QUESTIONS: Section 3
a. According to Carol Giardina, why was it necessary to disenfranchise the women of primitive society?
b. To what extent does Simone de Beauvoir trace the socio-economic conditions of the time to the exploitation and oppression of women in primitive society?

READINGS: Section 4
DIALECTIC OF SEX by Shulamith Firestone, Ch. 1
SEXUAL POLITICS, Kate Millett, pp. 108-127
QUESTIONS: Section 4
How does Firestone come to the conclusion that the first division of labor is based on the biological differences between the sexes?

III. INHERENT NATURE OR CULTURAL CONDITIONING?
READINGS: Section 1
DIALECTIC OF SEX, Ch. 3
"Kinder, Kuche, Kirche as Scientific Law" by Naomi Weisstein, SISTERHOOD
QUESTIONS: Section 1
According to Firestone, Freudianism and Feminism both respond to the same social conditions. Why? How?

READINGS: Section 2
"Male Dominance? Yes, Alas. A Sexist Plot? No." by Lionel Tiger
"Sex, the Liberal Ethic and the Zoological Perspective in the Social Sciences," book review by Louis Feldheimer
from THE SECOND SEX, Ch. XII, "Childhood" pp. 249-306
"Training the Woman to Know Her Place" by Sandra and Daryl Bems, WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION, Vol. 1, #1, Fall, 1969, p.8.
QUESTIONS: Section 2
a. How valid is Tiger's assignment of women's roles on the basis of animal behavior?
b. According to Simone de Beauvoir and Sandra and Daryl Bems, how are women brought up to fit into the feminine role?

c. How do your personal experiences relate to what you've read?

READINGS: Section 3
SEX AND TEMPERAMENT IN THREE PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES, Margaret Mead, Introduction and Conclusion, also one other reading to be assigned.
QUESTIONS: Section 3
What does the role reversal in the cultures that Mead discusses say about the defined roles in our society?

READINGS: Section 4, The Media
"Brainwashing and Women" by a Redstocking Sister
"The Art of Maining Women" by Donna Keck, WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION, vol. 1, #1, Fall, 1969.
"David Susskind" from OFF OUR BACKS
THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Ch. 2, "The Happy Housewife Heroine"
THE DIALECTIC OF SEX, "Cultural Romance"
QUESTIONS: Section 4
a. What has modern advertising done to you?
b. How would you think a welfare mother relates to VOGUE magazine?
c. How do television programs sell the ideas and commodities of America?

SEXUALITY
READINGS: Section 1
"On the Temptation to be a Beautiful Object" by Dana Densmore
"Sex and the Single Girl" by Dana Densmore
"Sexual Liberation: More of the Same Thing" by Roxanne Dunbar
"The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" by Ann Koedt, NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR, p. 37
"Love" by Shulamith Firestone, NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR, p. 16
QUESTIONS: Section 1
a. How much does your self-confidence vary depending on how good you look? How much does the rest of you matter?
b. You meet a man whom you like; you meet a woman whom you like. What's the difference in the way you act?
c. What's the nature of the pressure on a virgin? How is sexual liberation a myth?
d. Why has sexual intercourse become so important? Do you know where your clitoris is? Have you ever told your lover? Why not?
e. What factors make an equal mutual relationship almost impossible between a man and a woman?

READINGS: Section 2
"The Pill: Genocide or Liberation?" by Toni Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN, p. 162
"Sex and Marital Happiness," Ch. 4, BLUE-COLLAR MARRIAGE by Mirra Komarovsky.
QUESTIONS: Section 2
a. Why has the conception of fighting the state by having children arisen among some black revolutionaries?
b. How do blue collar marriage relationships differ from those of the middle class? How are they similar?
c. Why do we distinguish between white middle class and white working class women but talk monolithically about black women?
d. How does an understanding of our own oppression help us relate to the oppression of women of other races and classes?

THE ECONOMY
READINGS: Section 1
"The Political Economy of Women's Liberation" by Margaret Benston
"More on the Political Economy of Women's Liberation" Mickey and John Rowntree
"Women's Position in Capitalist Society--Exploitation and Oppression" by L. Landy

Kennedy, cont'd

QUESTIONS: Section 1
What is the economic basis for the inferior status of women?

READINGS: Section 2
THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Ch. 9, "The Sexual Sell"
"'Consumerism' and Women" by Ellen Willis, NOTES, [illegible]72
QUESTIONS: Section 2
How do corporations make profits out of women's feelings of inferiority?

READINGS: Sections 3, 4, and 5--A Marxist Critique of the Economy
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy
AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY, Ernest Mandel

READINGS: Section 6
"Women and the Welfare System" Carol Glassman, SISTERHOOD, p. 102
"Motherhood," Joanna Clark, THE BLACK WOMAN
"Secretarial Proletariat" by Judith Ann, SISTERHOOD
"Two Jobs: Women Who Work in Factories" by Tepperma, SISTERHOOD
"Women in Medicine" by Mirian Gilbert
"Women in Television" by Sheila Hobson
QUESTIONS: Section 6
What is it like for women to work in a capitalist economy?

VI. CHILD CARE AND COMMUNES
READINGS: Section 1
"On Day Care" by Phyllis MacEwan & Louise Gross, WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION, vol. 1,#2, Winter, 1970, p.26
"Childhood in an Indian Village" by Wilfred Pelletier
"Building Extended Families" by B. and M. McKain
QUESTIONS: Section 1
a. The child at home or in a day care center--which is preferable to you? Why? What are your criterion for good day care?
b. Is the method of child raising in "Childhood in an Indian Village" applicable to a complex industrial society? Why or why not?
c. Is the nuclear family necessary to maintain capitalism? Can capitalism function without the nuclear family?

READINGS: Section 2
"Fleecing the Pre-School Sheep" OFF OUR BACKS
"Enter Fighting"
"Day Care--Who Cares?" by Vicki Breitbart, LEVIATHAN, vol.2,#1,May '70,p.26
QUESTIONS: Section 2
a. Can the "unholy alliance" be allowed to take over day care? How can it be prevented?
b. Can government be allowed to control day care?
c. In the "business" of day care, who pays? who controls? who benefits?

VII. HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
READINGS: Section 1
"You've Come a Long Way, Baby: Historical Perspectives" by Connie Brown and Jane Seitz, SISTERHOOD
excerpts from Mary Wollstonecraft's A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN, 1792
"You Don't Need the Vote to Raise Hell" by Waltraud Ireland, LEVIATHAN, vol.2, #1, May 1970, p. 4

READINGS: Section 2
WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION, Spring 1970, pp. 2-38
QUESTIONS: Sections 1 and 2
a. What was the position of women in colonial America?
b. What caused some female abolitionists to extend the scope of their liberation movement?

c. What relationship developed between the women's movement and labor (trade unions) in the 19th and early 20th centuries?
d. The early feminist movement achieved for women the right to vote, to own property and to receive higher education. For what reasons did it fail to grow and continue to deal with a system which was still extremely oppressive to women?
e. How did the women's movement relate to the growth of socialism in the 20th century?

VI I. WOMEN IN REVOLUTION

Everyone has to read one article on women in:
Palestine (RAT, Nov. 17, 1970)
North Korea (GUARDIAN, Sept. 12, 1970)
Cuba (LEVIATHAN, May 1970--"Cuban Women" by Chris Camarano, p. 39)
Vietnam (JOURNAL/LIBERATION, vol. 1, #4, "Women in Revolution"pp.6-9)
China (GOLDFLOWER'S STORY by Jack Belden)
Russia (JOURNAL/LIBERATION, vol. 1, #4, "Women in Revolution" pp. 22-26)
Sweden (pick any article on reserve at the library)

The class will be divided into 5 groups. Each group will report on women in one of the following countries: Cuba, Vietman, China, Russia, Sweden. There will be information on reserve in the library on each country--listed under American Studies 214-in the xerox files. Each group will be responsible for reading all the material on reserve on the assigned (or chosen) country and reports will be made to the class. There will only be 10 copies of each piece of literature so work should be started early. The entire class will consider the following question:

How does the struggle of women differ depending on the revolutionary or non-revolutionary state of their country in general?

CURRENT ISSUES IN THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Women's Studies Program
Spring, 1971

Roberta Salper
San Diego State College

1. Differences between Women's Rights Movement (19th cent.) and Women's Liberation Movement Today.
   Reading: Shulamith Firestone, "On American Feminism," DIALECTIC OF SE
2. Introduction to Women's Liberation; The Issues and Background
   Reading: Robin Morgan, ed. SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, pp. xiii-28
3. Women's Liberation, cont'd
   Reading: Marlene Dixon, "The Rise of Women's Liberation;"
   Meredith Tax, "Woman and Her Mind;" (both on ditto)
   Marge Piercy, "Grand Coolie Dam" in Morgan
4. Development of Women's Liberation Movement in America, 1967-1971
   Reading: Cellestine Ware, WOMAN POWER
5. Two Views on Women: Freud and Erik Erikson
   Reading: Freud, "Femininity," and Erikson, "Inner and Outer Space: Reflection on Womanhood" (dittos)
6. Theories of Women's Liberation
   Reading: DIALECTIC OF SEX (all)
7. Theories: R. Dunbar, Juliet Mitchell, Kathy McAfee and Myrna Wood, Evelyn Ree
   & Reading: Corresponding articles from Morgan and Tanner
8. E. Reed, PROBLEM OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION (all)
9. Discussion of Shulamith Firestone's Theory
10. " " "
11. Summation of discussion of theories
    Reading: Anne Ferrar, "Toward a New Socialist Politic; Seattle Women's Liberation," SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, #5, (on reserve)
12. ESSAY EXAM
13. Third World Women
    Movie: SALT OF THE EARTH
    Reading: Morgan, 376-384
14. Guest. SDSC Dept. Economics and former union organizer, actor in SALT OF THE EARTH
15. Guest: Roberta Alexander. Discussion of Black Women's Liberation
    Reading: Cade, pp. 7-12, 80-118
    Tanner, pp. 303-307
16. Discussion of Third World Women's Liberation
    Reading: Cade, pp. 189-223
17. Guest: Report on Canadian Women's Conference
    Reading: Morgan, 385-421
18. Women in China
    Reading: excerpts from FANSHEN; "Gold Flower's Story" by Jack Belden; "Chinese Women Liberated" by Maud Russell
19. Women in Cuba
    Reading: excerpt from THE LONGEST REVOLUTION, articles by Joan Berman and Linda Gorden on Cuba in WOMEN: JOURNAL OF LIBERATION

Salper, cont'd

20. Psychological and Sexual Repression
Reading: "Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" in Tanner
Morgan, 161-96

21. Cont'd
Reading: Morgan, 197-244, 245-88, 306-10. Tanner, 296-302.

22. Conventional Theories on Sex
Reading: Marie Robinson, POWER OF SEXUAL SURRENDER, excerpts
Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in Social Structure"

23. Conventions and Marriage
Reading: Excerpts from marriage manuals (reserve)

24. The Mass Media and Sex
Reading: Vogue, Cosmopolitan, Playboy, The New Woman

25. Doris Day movie

26. Women and the Welfare System
Reading: Morgan 102-114

27. Guest: from National Welfare Rights Organization

28. Conclusion: Where Are We Now? Political Directions of the WLM

29. ESSAY EXAM

30. Evaluation of exams in class

TEXTS FOR WSP 140

ANTHOLOGIES:
Robin Morgan, ed., SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL. Vintage.
Leslie B. Tanner, VOICES FROM WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Signet.
Toni Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN. Signet

OTHER:
Shulamith Firestone, THE DIALECTIC OF SEX: CASE FOR A FEMINIST REVOLUTION. Wm. Morrow.
Cellestine Ware, WOMAN POWER. Tower Paperback.
Evelyn Reed, PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION. 1971, Merit.

BOOKS ON RESERVE:
Sigmund Freud, NEW INTRODUCTORY LECTURES, for "Femininity," #33.
Robert Jay Lifton, ed. THE WOMAN IN AMERICA., for Erikson,"Inner and Outer Space."
William Hinton, FANSHEN.
Elizabeth Suthland, THE YOUNGEST REVOLUTION.
Rose L. Coser, ed. THE FAMILY: ITS STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION for Talcott Parson.
Marie Robinson, M.D., POWER OF SEXUAL SURRENDER.
PLAYBOY, COSMOPOLITAN, VOGUE, THE NEW WOMAN. (several recent issues of each)
Maud Russell, "Chinese Women: Liberated" in FAR EAST REPORTER, NYC.
WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION (all issues)
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION (Berkeley) issue #5 for Anne Ferrar article.
Jack Belden, "Gold Flower's Story," reprinted by New England Free Press, orig. pub. in Belden's CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD, 1949.
Juliet Mitchell, "Women: The Longest Revolution," orig. in NEW LEFT REVIEW, Oct, 1966, reprinted by New England Free Press.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

Summer 1971

Penny Goldberg
Roger Williams College

The text SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL edited by Robin Morgan should be purchased and all readings listed from it are required. It is also expected that you will choose one other reading from the supplementary reading for each major topic so that we will all have a somewhat different basis for discussion.

Session 1-2 HISTORY OF AMERICAN FEMINISM

SISTERHOOD, Intro and p. 3-28
Supplementary Reading: Flexner. A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE
Kraditor. UP FROM THE PEDESTAL
O'Neill. EVERYONE WAS BRAVE.
Stambler. pp. 265-273
Tanner. PP. 31-98.
Wollstonecraft. A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN

3-4 THE MOVEMENT TODAY

SISTERHOOD, Ideologies, p. 421-492, Documents, p. 512-553
Supplementary Reading: Adams and Briscoe, p. 419-433
Epstein and Goode, p. 165-207
Firestone and Koedt. MAJOR WRITINGS OF RADICAL FEMINISTS.
Friedan. THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE. (beginning of current movement)
Roszaks. p. 160--
Tanner. p. 107-157, 362-443.

CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

"Consciousness O" THE NY TIMES MAGAZINE. Jan. 10, 1971.
"Perspectives on Consciousness Raising" in WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION. Winter, 1971.
Stambler, p. 155-161.
Tanner, p. 231-254.

BACKLASH

"Backlash Against Women's Lib!" LOOK, March 9, 1971.

5-6 EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION

SISTERHOOD, p. 37-46, 62-124.
Supplementary Reading: Bird. BORN FEMALE.
"Campus 1970--Where Do Women Stand?" Research Report from AAUW
Epstein and Goode, p. 73-129.
"Why Women Work" and "Earnings Gap" (handout from Women's Bureau)
"Working Women" in Lifton, p. 144-172.
"Rebelling Women--The Reason" in U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Apr, 1970.
"Sex Discrimination in Academia" & "Academic Women's Salaries" in JOURNAL OF HIGHER ED., Apr., 1971.
Adams and Briscoe, p. 339-415.

7-8 WOMEN AND THE LAW

SISTERHOOD, p. 139-157
Supplementary Reading: Kanowitz, Leo. WOMEN AND THE LAW.
Adams and Briscoe P. 201-212.
"The Geography of Inequality" McCALLS.
Stambler, p. 85-89
Proposed Equal Rights Amendment (handout)

9-10 SEX ROLES AND IMAGES, FREUD, THE MEDIA

SISTERHOOD, p. 161-245
Supplementary Reading: Adams and Briscoe p. 213-262
de Beauvoir. THE SECOND SEX.
Epstein and Goode p. 33-72
Erikson. "Inner and Outer Space," in Lifton, p. 1-26.
Friedan. p. 95-141.
Freud. "Anatomy is Destiny" in Roszaks p. 19 and Adams & Briscoe p.39.
"The FemLib Case Against Sigmund Freud" NY TIMES MAGAZINE, Jan 31, 1971

Goldberg, cont'd

Mead. MALE AND FEMALE.
Weisstein, Naomi. "Woman as Nigger" PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, Oct. 1969.

11-12 THE FAMILY AND CHILD CARE
Supplementary Reading: Tanner, p. 181-207
Bettelheim. THE CHILDREN OF THE DREAM.
"On Day Care" in Adams & Briscoe p. 344-352
"Notes on Child Care" Women's Liberation
"Day Care" SATURDAY REVIEW, Feb. 20, 1971
"Day Care Facts" Women's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. "Communes" PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, Sept. 1969
Rabkin, Leslie and Karen. "Children of the Kibbutz" PSYCH. TODAY Sp.'69.
"How We Live and With Whom" WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION Winter 1971

13 BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION
SISTERHOOD, p. 245-289
Supplementary Reading: "Abortion Laws" Women's Bureau, Dept. of Labor (handout)
Adams & Briscoe, p. 485-496
Stambler, p. 57 - 81.
Tanner, p. 207-214
Firestone and Koedt, p. 89-94
Shainess, "Abortion is No Man's Business" PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, May, 1970.
Guest Speaker: from the Rhode Island Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

14 LESBIANISM
SISTERHOOD, p. 289-311
Supp. Reading: de Beauvoir, p. 379-399

15 BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION
SISTERHOOD, p. 340-361
Supplementary Reading: Cade. THE BLACK WOMAN.
Myrdal. AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, appendix 5
Tanner p 303-307
Adams and Briscoe p. 71--
Roszaks p. 130-148

16-17 PRESENTATION OF PROJECTS

There will be no examinations in this course. The major course requirement is a project as suggested below. The written report of the project will be 1/3 of your grade and the class presentation will be 1/3. The final 1/3 of the grade will be for class discussion and participation.

Suggested Projects

1. Make a detailed study of several magazines designed for girls, teens, young career types, housewives, and high fashion mannequins to determine what values are currently promoted for females in that category. Or make a comparative study of several of these categories.

2. Compare the image of black women in contemporary magazines, including those specifically for blacks and those for general audiences, with that in the same magazine five or ten years ago.

3. Select several current issues of a magazine for women and several issues from a period in the past (e.g. 50-100 years ago, or the 20's or 40's); determine the differences and similarities in the life-style for women that is promoted, including fashions, hobbies, careers, interests, actions, and anything else that suggests what kind of image the media project.

4. Examine numerous elementary school readers for the view of girls and women projected by the pictures and stories.

5. Make a study of the attitudes toward women projected by the dogma and doctrine of one or more religions.

6. Make a study of the activities, organizations, and contributions of women in politics in the U. S.

7. Make a study of several institutions of higher learning to discover numbers of women employed in professional and non-professional positions, those in higher positions, what if anything is done to encourage the advancement of women, disparities in pay.

8. Make an analysis of Shakespeare's treatment of women in selected comedies (e.g., ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL, AS YOU LIKE IT, THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.)

9. Study local industry for number of women employed; provisions for maternity leave, day care, advancement; disparities in pay; women in executive positions.

10. Study available day care centers in your state provided by industry, government, private agencies; study regulations governing establishment of day care centers; propose an ideal situation for your state.

11. Make a study of communal living with interviews and examples if available; this might include a study of Bruno Bettelheim's CHILDREN OF THE DREAM about kibbutz living.

12. Study abortion laws in the State of R.I.; compare to other states. Study means of reform or repeal. Take a stand if you wish or present both sides.

These are only suggestions--feel free to be original--but all projects must be approved by the instructor. All should be supported by some background reading and a bibliography should be included. Illustrative material should be used wherever appropriate and available, especially for the class presentation. All papers should use proper footnote form.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Elsie and Briscoe, Mary Louise. UP AGAINST THE WALL, MOTHER . . . . Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1971. An extensive anthology with many essays on the traditional view of women as well as those from the current movement.

de Beauvoir, Simone. THE SECOND SEX. New York: Bantam, 1952. Analysis of the female role and how environment and social tradition have forced women to occupy a secondary place in relation to men.

Bettelheim, Bruno. THE CHILDREN OF THE DREAM: COMMUNAL CHILD-REARING AND AMERICAN EDUCATION. New York: MacMillan, 1969. The kibbutz and Am. school

Bird, Caroline. BORN FEMALE: THE HIGH COST OF KEEPING WOMEN DOWN. New York: McKay, 1968. (also Pocket Books) Economic facts of life for women.

Cade, Toni. THE BLACK WOMAN. New York: NAL, 1970. Anthology of black women's writings.

Ellmann, Mary. THINKING ABOUT WOMEN. New York, Harcourt-Brace, 1968. Critiques of literature from a feminist point of view.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs and Goode, William J. THE OTHER HALF: ROADS TO WOMEN'S EQUALITY. New Jersey: Prentis-Hall, 1971. Essays exploring the social, psychological, biological and political issues involved in the fight for women's rights.

Figes, Eva. PATRIARCHAL ATTITUDES. Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett, 1970. An English novelist examines historical attitudes toward women, e.g. Rousseau, Freud.

Firestone, Shulamith and Koedt, Anne, eds. NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR: WOMEN'S LIBERATION. 1970. Available from Radical Feminists, PO Box AA, Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10011, $1.50. Major writings of the Radical Feminists on women's experience, theories of radical feminism, founding a movement.

Flexner, Eleanor. A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959. History of American Feminism up to 1920.

Friedan, Betty. THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE. New York,Dell, 1963. Analysis of the quiet desperation of the housewife suffering "the problem that has no name." The book that helped start the current movement by the founder of NOW.

Greer, Germaine. THE FEMALE EUNUCH. New Jersey: McGraw-Hill, 1971. History and civilization, not a conspiracy of male egos, has created women's plight. Men, too, are not free.

Kanowitz, Leo. WOMAN AND THE LAW: THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1969. Carefully documented scrutiny of legal discrimination on the basis of sex in the United States.

Komarovsky, Mirra. BLUE-COLLAR MARRIAGE. New York; Random House, 1964. A comprehensive study of working-class families touching on almost every significant aspect of married life.

Kraditor, Aileen S. UP FROM THE PEDESTAL. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968. Documentary history of feminism.

Lifton, Robert Jay. THE WOMAN IN AMERICA. Boston: Beacon, 1964. A symposium with essays by Erik Erikson, David Reisman, Alice Rossi, Diana Trilling, etc.

Mead, Margaret. MALE AND FEMALE. New York: Mentor, 1955. Studies illustrating how primitive and present cultures determine meaning of sex and the roles assigned to each.

Millett, Kate. SEXUAL POLITICS. New York: Doubleday, 1970. Sexual politics as an ideology--a way of life--with emphasis on documents from male chauvinists such as D.H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, Freud.

Montagu, Ashley. THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF WOMEN. New York: Macmillan, 1968. Patronizing pedestalitis--thesis that women are biologically, psychologically, and emotionally superior to men.

Morgan, Robin, ed. SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL. New York: Random House, 1970. Extensive compendium of writings by women's liberation people.

Myrdal, Gunnar. AN AMERICAN DILEMMA. New York: Harper and Row, 1941. A particularly important analogy between blacks and women in Appendix 5.

O'Neill, William L. EVERYONE WAS BRAVE. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1969. Scholarly account of early American feminism and its failure; why the feminist movement contributed to its own downfall.

Rainwater, Lee; Coleman, Richard P.; and Handel, Gerald. WORKINGMAN'S WIFE. New York: McFadden, 1959. Honest disclosure of exploitation, considers consumer behavior and strategy used to reach workingclass women through advertising.

D. LITERATURE COURSES

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CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN WOMEN WRITERS

English 422
Summer, 1971

Carlene Bagnall Blanchard
Bowling Green State University

Book List

Gwendolyn Brooks, SELECTED POEMS. Harper Torchbook.
Toni Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN, AN ANTHOLOGY. Signet, New American Library.
Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS, Doubleday.
Joyce Carol Oates, WHEEL OF LOVE AND OTHER STORIES, Vanguard.
Flannery O'Connor, 3 (Wise Blood, A Good Man is Hard to Find, The Violent Bear it Away) Signet, New American Library.
Susan Sontag, AGAINST INTERPRETATION, Delta Dell.

Optional--use for background, projects, additional reading, comparisons.

Jesse Barnard, ACADEMIC WOMEN, Meridian.
Caroline Bird, BORN FEMALE.
Doris Lessing, THE GOLDEN NOTEBOOK.
Sylvia Plath, ARIEL.
Simone de Beauvoir, THE SECOND SEX.
Robin Morgan, ed., SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL.
Robert J. Lifton, THE WOMAN IN AMERICA (see especially the articles by Alice Rossi and Erik Erikson), also in DAEDELUS, Sept., 1964.
Margot Hentoff, "The Curse," NEW YORK REVIEW, Jan. 16, 1969.
Patricia Graham, "Women in Academe," SCIENCE, vol. 169, p. 1284.
"Woman as Nigger," PSYCHOLOGY TODAY.

Other publications:

FEMALE STUDIES I, Sheila Tobias. Know, Inc., PO Box 10197, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1523
FEMALE STUDIES II, Florence Howe. " " "
FEMALE STUDIES III and IV, soon to be published.

The group will be divided into small discussion groups which will be responsible for setting their own goals and evaluating accomplishments. We will meet in addition as a group-as-a-whole discussion group. Each person will be responsible for the presentation of a project of paper growing out of the reading and ideas brought up in the course. Papers and projects will be presented during the last week of class. If you choose to do a paper, it should be typed on ditto sheets or otherwise duplicated so that each member of the class gets a copy at least one day in advance of the scheduled discussion of it. Projects may be in any media you wish--are, music, dance, skits, even lectures! The idea is that you will share your insights with the group, presenting not a summary of the thoughts of "authorities," but rather some unique combination of experience, research, thought, which can come only from you, now.

Course Outline

1st week: Meet, get to know each other, divide into groups.
F. O'Conner, THE VIOLENT BEAR IT AWAY
WISE BLOOD
A GOOD MAN IS HARD TO FIND

2nd week: G. Brooks, SELECTED POEMS
T. Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN

3rd week: J. Oates, THE WHEEL OF LOVE AND OTHER STORIES
S. Sontag, AGAINST INTERPRETATION

4th week: K. Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS

5th week: Presentation of papers and projects

WOMEN AND THE NOVEL
A New Look at the American Woman as Writer and Heroine

Literature
Spring, 1971

Blanche Gelfant
University College,
Syracuse University

I. THE AWAKENING, Kate Chopin (1899)

II. THE HOUSE OF MIRTH, Edith Wharton (1905)

III. A LOST LADY, Willa Cather (1923)

IV. "Old Mortality" in PALE HORSE, PALE RIDER, Katherine Anne Porter (1939)

V. "Melanctha and Jeff" in THREE LIVES, Gertrude Stein (1909)
"Winter of Artifice" in WINTER OF ARTIFICE, Anais Nin (1948)

VI. them, Joyce Carol Oates (1969)

COMMENTARY: Women and the Novel
Blanche Gelfant

Women have contributed significantly to American literature since the beginning of our history. In 1630, Anne Bradstreet, our first woman poet, arrived with a Puritan contingent on the Arabella. Daughter of a governor, wife of a governor, and mother of eight children, she combined traditional duties with a literary career, becoming known in America and England. Since that time, American women have continued to express a literary talent and have given us a considerable legacy of important works.

Now as we are in the process of reconsidering the American heritage and of reinterpreting the American women's role, we can take a new and illuminating look at the woman novelist and her heroines. If there is a feminine sensibility, then surely it will be revealed in novels written by women about women--for all of us. Refracted through literature, we can see the woman as myth and reality; at the same time we can read and enjoy in a new way some classic American works. This course will look at the lives and works of a few women novelists whose place in literary history is assured. What is the story of the American woman as a serious writer? Is there a story? Does she have to shape a unique life for herself--more so than a man--in order to become a novelist? What significance is there in the pattern of eccentric spinsterhood, hermitic withdrawal or expatriation, multiple marriages and divorces?

How does the woman novelist present her heroine? Is her portrayal of the woman significantly different from that of her male contemporaries? Does she confirm a male view? Does she create women in her own likeness, or present a portrait that stands in opposition to her own life and career? In considering such questions, the course will include novels or mention of novels by Willa Cather, Edith Wharton, Gertrude Stein, Katherine Anne Porter, Jean Stafford, Shirley Jackson, Hortense Calisher, Grace Paley, Joyce Carol Oates. The emphasis will be on textual analysis, a close reading of what the novels say and imply. There will be brief biographical sketches of the writers and comparisons with the literary portrayal of women by men.

THE WAR OF THE SEXES: THE LITERARY MISTREATMENT OF WOMEN

Comparative Literature
1971-72

Mary Tyler Knowles
Dartmouth College

> For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the savior of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.
> --St. Paul, I Corinthians

1. INTRODUCTION--Questionnaire given out

2. THE RELIGIOUS UNDERPINNINGS OF ANTI-FEMINISM
   Old Testament: Genesis 1:27-31, 2:18-22; Proverbs 31:10; Ecc.7:26-28.
   New Testament: Matt. 19:9-12, 24:19; Mark 13:17; Luke 21:23; 1 Tim. 2:11-14; 1 Cor. 14:34-36; Eph 5:22-24; 1 Thess 4:3-5; 1 Peter 3:1-7
   Review Milton's PARADISE LOST, esp. IV, VII, IX.
   Recommended: Katherine Rogers, THE TROUBLESOME HELPMEET.

   THE ECONOMIC UNDERPINNINGS OF ANTI-FEMINISM
   Helen Hacker, "51% Minority Group" in SISTERHOOD
   Carol Glassman, "Women & The Welfare System" in SISTERHOOD
   Jean Tepperman, "Women Who Work in Factories" " "
   Judith Ann, "The Secretarial Proletariat" " "
   Patricia Robinson, "Poor Black Women" and "A Collective Statement" in Roszak, MASCULINE/FEMININE
   Relevant selections in Toni Cade's THE BLACK WOMAN

3. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF ANTI-FEMINISM
   Sigmund Freud, "Anatomy is Destiny" in M/F
   Farnham & Lundberg, "Some Aspects of Woman's Psyche" in Showalter.
   Naomi Weisstein, "Kinde, Kuche, Kirche" in SISTERHOOD
   Richard Gilman, "The FemLib Case Against Sigmund Freud" NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE (Jan 31, 1971)
   Recommended: Kate Millett, "Freud and the Influence of Psychoanalytic Thought," SEXUAL POLITICS.
   Shulamith Firestone, "Freudianism: The Misguided Feminism" in DIALECTIC OF SEX.
   Anais Nin, DIARY I--pertaining to Allende and Otto Rank.

4. THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF ANTI-FEMINISM
   Lionel Tiger, "Male Dominance? Yes, Alas. A Sexist Plot, No" NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, Oct. 25, 1970.
   Naomi Weisstein, Revisions to "KKK" in Showalter
   Karen Sacks, "Social Bases for Sexual Equality: A Comparative View" in SISTERHOOD.
   Recommended: Lionel Tiger, MEN IN GROUPS

5. ANTI-FEMINISM IN LITERATURE
   August Strindberg, THE FATHER and MISS JULIE, and "The Vampire Wife" in M/F
6. Gustave Flaubert, MADAME BOVARY
7. MADAME BOVARY
8. Henrik Ibsen, THE DOLL'S HOUSE
   Beverly Jones, "The Dynamics of Marriage and Motherhood" SISTERHOOD.
   Relevant sections of Friedan's THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE highly recommended
9. Leo Tolstoi, THE KREUTZER SONATA
10. D. H. Lawrence, SONS AND LOVERS
11. SONS AND LOVERS
    Also read Philip Wylie on "Momism" in GENERATION OF VIPERS, Kate Millett "The Literature of Sexual Politics" in SISTERHOOD OR sections on Lawrence in SEXUAL POLITICS.

Knowles, cont'd

12. Edward Albee, WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA WOLF?
13. Henry Miller, THE TROPIC OF CANCER OR Norman Mailer, "The Time of Her Time," "The Man Who Studied Yoga," "The Language of Man" "Prisoner of Sex" (Harpers, March, 1971)
14. Eldridge Cleaver. SOUL ON ICE.
    Francis Beal, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female" SISTERHOOD
    Eleanor Norton, "For Sadie and Maude" SISTERHOOD
15. Imanu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) "The Black Woman," BLACK WORLD, July'70.
    Toni Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN
    Lorraine Hansberry, RAISIN IN THE SUN
16 & 17. Ernest Hemingway, IN OUR TIME
18 & 19. Richard Farina, BEEN DOWN SO LONG IT LOOKS LIKE UP TO ME.
20. Conclusions.

TEXTS: Robin Morgan, ed., SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL
Betty & Theodore Roszak, eds., MASCULINE/FEMININE

RECOMMENDED (on reserve):
Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE
Mary Ellmann, THINKING ABOUT WOMEN
Elaine Showalter, WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND LITERATURE
Katherine M. Rogers, THE TROUBLESOME HELPMEET
Toni Cade, THE BLACK WOMAN
Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS
Shulamith Firestone, THE DIALECTIC OF SEX
Norman Mailer, PRISONER OF SEX

REQUIREMENTS: Daily journal on reading and day to day subjective commentary on sexism. Collected every 10 days. One long paper.

COMMENTARY: The War of the Sexes
Mary Tyler Knowles

1. Taught to all male freshman seminar--2 female auditors. Need more women in such a course.

2. Being a white woman I did miserably on the black woman section. If included, include a guest lecturer--a black woman as I did for the 2nd class.

3. MADAME BOVARY and SONS AND LOVERS went slowly.

4. Should include section on children's literature--stereotypes of female role models--Richard Scarrey esp. good.

5. Relate background reading to literature and books to each other.

6. Male students scared of homosexuality, incest, non-nuclear family living--do some collateral Doris Lessing, A MAN AND TWO WOMEN.

THE SEXUAL ORDER

Literature
Fall, 1970

Lillian Robinson, Massachusetts
Institute of Technology

1. POPULAR CULTURE: Music (See Popular Culture assignment sheet for specifics)

2. POPULAR CULTURE: Ads, periodicals.
   Playboy, True Confessions, Ladies' Home Journal, "J", THE SENSUOUS WOMAN.
   Optional: Any issue of any "bride's" magazine, current issue of Vogue, confession magazines "on reserve" at my office.

3. Freud, CIVILIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS
   Xerox material on Freud
   Naomi Weisstein, "Kuche, Kinde, Kirche as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female."
   Mary McCarthy, "The Tyranny of the Orgasm" in ON THE CONTRARY.
   Optional: Ann Koedt, "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" with supplement:
   Nancy Mann, "Fucked-Up in America"
   Herbert Marcuse, EROS AND CIVILIZATION
   Wilhelm Reich, THE FUNCTION OF THE ORGONE

4. Philip Roth, PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT
   John Cheever, "An Educated American Woman" in THE BRIGADIER AND THE GOLF WIDOW.

5. Colette, THE VAGABOND
   & Pavese, AMONG WOMEN ONLY
6. Doris Lessing, "One Off The Short List"

7. Eugene O'Neill, DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS
   Frederick Engels, THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE.

8. Margaret Mead, MALE AND FEMALE, and SEX AND TEMPERAMENT IN THREE PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES (excerpts will be assigned)

9. Selections from ANALYSIS OF HUMAN SEXUAL RESPONSE
   Something like LOVE WITHOUT FEAR, and a book of pornography

10. Gustave Flaubert, MADAME BOVARY
    Mary Renault, THE CHARIOTEER

11. Mary Wollstonecraft, VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN
    & John Stuart Mill, ON THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN
12. Virginia Woolf, THREE GUINEAS
    Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation"
    Juliet Mitchell, "Women: The Longest Revolution"
    Laurel Limpus, "Sexual Repression and the Family'
    Other pamphlets to be specified
    Marx and Engels, THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

COMMENTARY: The Sexual Order
Lillian Robinson

What am I doing teaching Women's Studies in a men's college? Substantial recent gains in female enrollment have raised the proportion of undergraduate women at MIT to 7.8%. Invidious distinctions are constantly drawn not only between male and female students, but between MIT "coeds" and (real) girls. Despite cross-registration from Wellesley, it is not unusual--though no longer the norm--for a class to contain no women at all.

Robinson, cont'd

More than half my students in "The Sexual Order" are female, but the nature of the course is largely determined by the male-dominated institution that surrounds it. MIT is, of course, a "university polarized around science." This peculiarity has also contributed to the way the course works. With their strong background in science, MIT students are most responsive to a discursive, objective approach to cultural phenomena. They are less willing to make the connections between social and personal experience or to recognize intellectual discipline and rigor in non-scientific areas. I have the impression that students take the course most seriously when it is concerned with broad cultural questions, but react with defensive jocularity when it comes closer to their own lives.

"The Sexual Order" is a Literature elective in the Department of Humanities. Its subject matter necessarily crosses disciplinary boundaries, but the kind of cultural criticism I am concerned with is rooted in literary tradition. The course proceeds as an examination of some central sexual myths. Literature is both the source and the reflection of those myths. I think I have a tendency to vacillate between close reading of particular texts and sweeping cultural syntheses--result of the contradiction between literary training and the limits of a single isolated course.

"Sex" in this course has three related meanings: sexual identity, sexuality, and political relations. The title, I think, embraces all three. We begin by considering popular culture--advertising, song lyrics, mass circulation magazines, THE SENSUOUS WOMAN--and the myths they embody. ("Myth" is used throughout as a literary category, not a moral stricture or a euphemism for "untruth.") The first block of "serious" reading is about Freudianism; it includes CIVILIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS and some minor works of Freud, along with Naomi Weisstein's "Kuche, Kinde, Kirche as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female" and Mary McCarthy"s "The Tyranny of the Orgasm." Supplementary materials I recommend are Marcuse's EROS AND CIVILIZATION, works of Wilhelm Reich, and Ann Koedt's "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm." Two literary works that follow illustrate both the influence of Freudianism and the dangers of generalizing about those influences; they are Philip Roth's PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT and John Cheever's "An Educated American Woman."

In the next section of the course, we look at a few books that show isolated women reacting to social stereotypes. Colette's THE VAGABOND, Cesare Pavese's AMONG WOMEN ONLY and Doris Lessing's "One Off the Short List" are the texts here.

On the whole, the approach is influenced by cultural anthropology, a direction that becomes explicit in the next unit, where we read O'Neill's DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS, Engels' THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, and two major studies by Margaret Mead. The approach carries over into the material about sexuality, which includes the Brechers' analysis of HUMAN SEXUAL RESPONSE (popularization and critiques of Masters and Johnson), a contemporary marriage manual, Flaubert's MADAME BOVARY, and Mary Renault"s THE CHARIOTEER.

The course ends with readings about sex and politics; the classic essays by Mary Wollstonecraft and J. S. Mill, Virginia Woolf's THREE GUINEAS, and a number of recent pamphlets. Pressure of time has forced me to cut out a unit I was very much interested in- tentatively titled "Sex and High Culture." Reading here included Virginia Woolf's A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN and an essay of my own about it, Kenneth Clark's THE NUDE, Kate Millett's SEXUAL POLITICS and some sixteenth century love sonnets.

Films are shown in connection with the course, but none of them has been the topic of a whole class discussion. My original list (abridged by the realities of non-commercial distribution) included THE SHEIK, IT HAPPENED ONE NIGHT, LADY IN THE DARK, and ELVIRA MADIGAN. Guests have attended class to give us the benefit of their expertise; we have had a critic doing a book on Pavese, an anthropologist to talk about the family, an art historian to lecture on Delacroix's nudes, and the September Playmate. (It is a hard class for a guest because the 40-odd members have developed a kind of solidarity that promotes discussion and discourageslecturing.) One class is being planned and run by students from the Gay Liberation Front. Informal gatherings take place from time to time, and the class is going away together for a discussion weekend in Vermont.

Student "input" consists in active class participation, plus a substantial term project. Many of these projects are traditional literary subjects explored from a new angle: stereotypes or reversals of sexual roles in the work of a particular novelist or playwright; a few papers are applying similar questions to films, painting or music. A number of students are keeping journals about their own experiences with the reading--something I hesitated to make a requirement but was pleased to encourage. Several male students are writing about different aspects of the socialization of men; one is studying collective child-rearing experiments. Taking a lead from Pavese, one man is attacking a work of fiction from the female point of view. A graduating history major is writing about the decline of American feminism. Some are working on "creative" projects: a photographic essay for one, a film for another couple, and a (Joycean) pornographic novel for a team of two writers and an illustrator.

SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE: WOMEN

Sociology
Fall, 1970

Barbette Blackington
American University

Course Description: The Sociology of Literature, while neglected as an area of study in the United States, is a developed and popular branch of Sociology in Europe, especially in the French universities. It views literature as a rich and valuable deposit of social ideas and forces. It analyzes the role of the artist, his works and their distribution in society as an important aspect of the social order.

In Part I of this course the substance, literature and metholology of the Sociology of Literature will be reviewed and analyzed. Part II is concerned with the position of women as it is revealed in literature. Comprehensive investigation into women's position in society is only presently getting underway. In the past, the finest body of documents revealing women's position has been literature, folklore and folk humor. Even here, however, the documentation has been infrequently approached and analyzed as exposition of women's position. This is even true of literature whose main theme is protest of women's social lot. MEDEA and A DOLL'S HOUSE are conspicuous examples of this. In Part III literature as a vehicle for protest of women's situation will be examined. In Part IV the role of women as literary artists will be studied and the professional and societal factors which affect their performance and the distribution of their works will be examined.

Texts: There is no one textbook in English in the Sociology of Literature which covers the field adequately and there is nothing at all in print which is comprehensive on the position of women in literature. It is necessary to use several books in order to present this course of study. . . . Students are encouraged to read the novels in the course, RESURRECTION, THE MILL ON THE FLOSS, MAIN STREET, AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY, over the summer. . . .

[Ed. note: The syllabus for this interesting course is too long to be included in its entirety. I have therefore excerpted the course description, an abbreviated form of the reading list, and those four "colloquies" near the end of the term that are closest to the interests of people in American Studies. Those wishing the entire syllabus might write to Professor Blackington, Director, International Institute of Women's Studies, Washington, D. C. 20012.--BC.]

Book List:

Robert Escarpit, SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE, trans. Ernest Pick, Vol. IV, Lake Erie College Studies, Painesville, Ohio, 1965.
Levin Schuling, THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERARY TASTE, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul,'66
Georg Lukacs, STUDIES IN EUROPEAN REALISM, Grassets Universal Library
_____, THE HISTORICAL NOVEL, Beacon Press
Leo Tolstoy, RESURRECTION, Norton
Sidney Finkelstein, EXISTENTIALISM AND ALIENATION IN AMERICAN LITERATURE, NY, International Publishers
Katherine M. Rogers, THE TROUBLESOME HELPMATE, A HISTORY OF MISOGYNY IN LITERATURE, Seattle, U. of Washington Press, 1966
Sinclair Lewis, MAIN STREET, Signet
Theodore Dreiser, AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY, Signet
Sterling Brown, Arthur Davis, and Ulysses Lee, eds. THE NEGRO CARAVAN, Arno Press, 1970
Aristophanes, LYSISTRATA, Chandler Pub. Co.
Henrik Ibsen, A DOLL'S HOUSE AND OTHER PLAYS, Penguin
Gordon Haight, GEORGE ELIOT, A BIOGRAPHY, NY, Oxford U. Press
George Eliot, THE MILL ON THE FLOSS, Airmont
Joseph Jay Deiss, THE ROMAN YEARS OF MARGARET FULLER, NY, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1969.

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Assignment: Dip into THE NEGRO CARAVAN and read for your enjoyment. A few poems and articles will be selected for general seminar discussion.

Lecture Citations:

Seymour Cross and John Hardy, IMAGES OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE, Chicago, 1966
Emanuel James and Theodore Cross, eds., DARK SYMPHONY: NEGRO LITERATURE IN AMERICA, Free Press, 1968
Josephine Carson, SILENT VOICES, THE SOUTHERN NEGRO WOMAN TODAY, NY, Delacourte,'6
Margaret Just Butcher, THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CULTURE. NY, New American Library,'5
Alain Locke, ed., THE NEW NEGRO: AN INTERPRETATION, NY, Arno Press, 1968
Harriet Beecher Stowe, UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, Airmont
Mark Twain, THE ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, NY, Grosset and Dunlap (1875)
_____, THE ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN, NY, Grosset & Dunlap (1884)
Rosey E. Pool, ed., BEYOND THE BLUES, Hand and Flower Press, 1962
Sterling A. Brown, THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN FICTION, 1938
_____, NEGRO POETRY AND DRAMA, 1938
_____, "Count Us In", in Royfond Logan, ed., WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, Chapel Hill, U. of North Carolina, 1944.
Billie Holiday, LADY SINGS THE BLUES, Lancer
Robert Glover, ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR MISUNDERSTANDING, NY, Ballantine, 1964
_____, HERE GOES KITTEN, Dell, 1964

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Colloquy #13: THE POSITION OF THE WOMAN ARTIST

Topics: The position of women as literary artists. The women novelists. The woman poet: Sappho, Emily Dickenson. The woman Intellectual: Margaret Fuller. The woman artist: Isadora Duncan, artist and author. Biography.

Assignment: Read: Deiss' THE ROMAN YEARS OF MARGARET FULLER.

Schucking, "Shifting of the Position of the Artist" in THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERARY TASTE, p. 19-30
Escarpit, "The Writer in Time" and "The Writer in Society" in SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE, P. 21-44

Lecture Citations:

Thomas Pinney, SILLY NOVELS BY LADY NOVELISTS, NY, Columbia U. Press, 1963
Robert N. Wilson, THE AMERICAN POET: A ROLE INVESTIGATION. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1952
Isadora Duncan, MY LIFE, NY, Boni and Liveright, 1927.
_____, THE ART OF THE DANCE, NY, Theater Arts, 1928
Hugh Dalziel Duncan, "The Writers' Role in a New City," in THE RISE OF CHICAGO AS A LITERARY CENTER
Donald Stouffer, THE ART OF BIOGRAPHY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND, Princeton University Press, 1941
Margaret Fuller, WOMAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND KINDRED PAPERS RELATING TO THE SPHERE, CONDITION AND DUTIES OF WOMAN, NY, Source Book Press, 1970
Perry Miller, ed., MARGARET FULLER, AMERICAN ROMANTIC, SELECTIONS FROM HER WRITINGS AND CORRESPONDENCE. Cornell

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Colloquy #7: THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Seminar discussion will focus on Sinclair Lewis' MAIN STREET, 1920. Biographical material on Lewis will be presented. Topics: The genesis of the characters. The position of Carol Kennicott. The phenomenal success of MAIN STREET.
Assignment: Read MAIN STREET. Write a 2-3 page paper to be presented to the seminar analyzing the position of Carol Kennicott. Give attention to the variables which determine and limit her position. Such factors as class standing, family sponsorship, family relationships, education, ambitions, horizons, personal looks and talents, opportunities to meet men, to earn her own living, these and many more, all enter into the complex fabric of her position, rights, and participation in society.
Lecture Citations: There is a wealth of factual material on the creation and distribution of MAIN STREET in Mark Schorer's biography of Sinclair Lewis, AN AMERICAN LIFE, NY, McGraw-Hill, 1961.

Colloquy #8: THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Seminar discussion will focus on the position of Roberta in Dreiser's AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY. Biographical material on Dreiser will be presented. Topics: Exposition of his "realism." Dreiser's position on women. Sociological and literary factors which bear upon the success of AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY.
Assignment: Read AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY.

Students with heavy reading loads may be interested in the advice of one of Dreiser's foremost critics and admirers, H. L. Mencken. He wrote: "Whether or not AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY will survive in the Dreiser canon is a question that can be answered only by time. It was, as I have said, his greatest success while he lived, but at least a part of that success, I suspect, was due to its sheer bulk. The reading public always embraces long and thick novels, for its members, on the lower and more numerous levels, read only one or two books a year, and they like something that will last them all Winter. If any reader of the present volume is pressed for time, I advise him to begin his reading with the second book. The first is a menagerie of all Dreiser's worst deficiencies, but in the second he becomes again the adept and persuasive reporter. The last scenes have in them all the plausibility that made SISTER CARRIE a memorable event in American letters."

Write a 2-3 page paper to be presented to the Seminar analyzing the position of Roberta.

Lecture Citations:

Theodore Dreiser, SISTER CARRIE, NY, Modern Library, 1917
_____, THE TITAN, Dell
_____, TRAGIC AMERICA, NY, Oxford U. Press, 1932
_____, DAWN, HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY, THE EARLY YEARS, Vol. I. Fawcet
_____, A BOOK ABOUT MYSELF, HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY: NEWSPAPER DAYS, Vol. II, Fawcett
W. A. Sevanberg, DREISER, NY, Chas. Scribner, 1963
Robert H. Elias, THEODORE DREISER, NY, Alfred Knopf, 1949
F. O. Matthiessen, THEODORE DREISER, NY, Wm. Sloane Associates, 1951
Erich Auerbach, MIMESIS: THE REPRESENTATION OF REALITY IN WESTERN LITERATURE, NY, Doubleday, 1957

Colloquy #9: THE POSITION OF BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Seminar will be devoted to analysis of the position and description of black women in American literature. Topics: Historical development of the entry and use of black women in American literature. Servant, Mother, Martyr. The Black Mask of Humanity. The American National Sin. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN. THE BLACK WOMAN IN BLACK LITERATURE. The black woman in the novels of William Faulkner and Eudora Welty.

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WOMEN IN AMERICA

History 356

Alan Graebner
College of St. Catherine

Lectures and discussion in this course will presume diligent reading of Eleanor Flexner's CENTURY OF STRUGGLE. Additional reading as the basis for discussion is given below in selected weeks. Items marked by an asterisk are available at the bookstore in paperback. All others are available on reserve in the library; where applicable, exact page numbers will be given at the reserve desk.

Week 1 EUROPEAN PRECEDENTS

Reading: Fenelon: TREATISE ON EDUCATION OF DAUGHTERS.
Gregory: LEGACY TO HIS DAUGHTERS
Richardson: PAMELA
Rousseau: EMILIE, Book V.
Wollstonecraft: VINDICATION*

These selections include a range of thinking on women, most of it familiar to educated Americans in the colonial and early national period. Among the questions you should keep in mind while reading these (and subsequent selections) are the following: how does the writer define the basic nature of women? what should be the proper position of women? why? what kind of evidence is offered and rhetoric employed, and what are the connections between these and the contemporary culture? If there are grievances stated, what solutions are suggested? How do you evaluate them?

Week 2 THE COLONIAL AND EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD

Reading: Genesis: 2 and 3
Corinthians: 7 and 11
Morgan: "The Puritan Family"
Hannah Crocker: OBSERVATIONS ON THE REAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN
Chastellux: TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA
Greven: FOUR GENERATIONS

Week 3 THE 19TH CENTURY GENTEEL FEMALE

Reading: Bird: AN ENGLISHWOMAN IN AMERICA
Martineau: SOCIETY IN AMERICA
Tocqueville: DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA
Trollope: DOMESTIC MANNERS
Branch: SENTIMENTAL YEARS
Taylor: CAVALIER AND YANKEE
Welter: "Cult of True Womanhood," Am. Qt. 1966.

The first four selections above are travelers reports. As will quickly be apparent, these travelers did not agree on their attitudes toward either Americans or women. This complicates evaluation, but does not invalidate their observations, as should be clear from the items in Branch's anthology and from Welter and Taylor.

Week 4 EARLY AMERICAN FEMINISM

Reading: "Pastoral Letter of the Mass. Clergy"
Grimke: LETTERS ON THE EQUALITY OF THE SEXES
Reports, Seneca Falls Convention, 1848.
Lerner: THE GRIMKE SISTERS
Hacker: WOMEN AS A MINORITY GROUP

Briefly the background of these documents is this: as abolitionism gained strength in the 1830's, a number of women became active in that crusade. However, when some women began addressing public gatherings on the subject, certain clergy reacted with considerable alarm by issuing the Pastoral Letter. Irritated by the male position, Sarah Grimke, one of the women abolitionists and a Quaker, responded with her Letters. Once begun, women's activism proved very difficult to stop. The most famous of early conferences was at Seneca Falls, N. Y. in 1848. It was this conference that produced the celebrated "Declaration" and preceedings as given in the two reports above.

Week 5 THE 19TH CENTURY FEMINIST CADRE
Reading: Flexner: Chaps 4, 10
Stanton, Anthony and Gage, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE, I.
Riegel: AMERICAN FEMINISTS*
Any biography of a major leader written before 1955.
Sinclair: EMANCIPATION OF AMERICAN WOMEN
Smith: DAUGHTERS OF THE PROMISED LAND
Firestone: THE DIALECTIC OF SEX
Trecker: "Women in U.S. History High School Textbooks," SOCIAL EDUCATION, March, 1971.
Degler: "Revolution without Ideology"

This reading has a double aim. One is simply to take a closer look at the main 19th century American feminists--who they were and what motivated them. The other is to observe the changes in historical interpretation of the feminists.

Week 6 MATURED CRUSADE
Reading: Lasch: NEW RADICALISM
Lasch: SOCIAL THOUGHT OF JANE ADDAMS*
Mann: YANKEE REFORMERS
Davis: SPEARHEADS FOR REFORM
Walker: POET AND THE GILDED AGE
Gilman: WOMEN AND ECONOMICS*

Week 7 WOMEN AND CLOTHES

Week 8 THE QUIET MAJORITY
It is one thing to look at feminist ideology over a period of time. the actual status and lives of the majority of women, however, might be quite a different matter. The purpose of this reading is to get some idea of the latter. You are to read two volumes from a list, to be found at the reserve desk, of diaries, reminiscences, letters and autobiographies. The list deliberately excludes work by famous women and most feminists. In papers on the two books you chose you should assess the writer's assumptions, expectations, roles and duties. The papers will be put on reserve and will form the basis for discussion.

Week 9 WOMEN AND HIGHER EDUCATION
Reading: Willard: PLAN FOR IMPROVING FEMALE EDUCATION
Cross: EDUCATED WOMAN IN AMERICA*
Flexner: Chaps 2, 8
Clark: SEX IN EDUCATION
White: EDUCATING OUR DAUGHTERS
Dennis: EDUCATION AND A WOMAN'S LIFE
Komarovsky: "What Should College Teach Women?"
Jencks and Riesman: ACADEMIC REVOLUTION, chap 7
St. Catherine's Alumnae Bulletin

Higher education for women has in America been an important index to their status. And proposals for educating women have usually been very closely tied to basic assumptions about the nature of women and their role in society. The evolution in these matters is one of the main points in the reading above.

Week 10 WOMEN AND WORK

Week 11 ANTI-FEMINISM
Reading: Pastoral Letter
Bushnell: REFORM AGAINST NATURE
A Protest Against Woman's Suffrage in Alabama

Graebner, cont'd

Bernbaum: ANTI-SUFFRAGE ESSAYS BY MASS. WOMEN
Cuyler: SHALL WOMEN BE BURDENED WITH THE BALLOT?
Gilfillan: THE DISADVANTAGES OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE
Ward: WHY I DO NOT BELIEVE IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE
Wells: ARGUMENTS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE
Why Should Suffrage Be Imposed on Women?
Lundberg and Farnham: MODERN WOMAN, THE LOST SEX
Robinson: POWER OF SEXUAL SURRENDER
Reviews of Millett: SEXUAL POLITICS

Week 12 SEX, MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Week 13 FEMINIST RESURGENCE
Reading: Friedan: THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE*
Lifton: WOMEN IN AMERICA*
President's Commission: AMERICAN WOMEN

Week 14 CONTEMPORARY SCENE
Reading: Tanner: VOICES FROM WOMEN'S LIBERATION*
Motive, March/April 1969
Kramer, "Founding Cadre," NEW YORKER, Nov. 28, 1970
Current issues: PLAYBOY; LADIES HOME JOURNAL; COSMOPOLITAN; APHRO; WOMEN: A JOURNAL OF LIBERATION; OFF OUR BACKS; EVERYWOMAN.
Background Facts on Women Workers in the U.S.

Footnotes and bibliography in Flexner are helpful for further reading. A number of more recent items not included there are given below. Although I have borrowed from these for lectures there is much detail in them that merits study.

Banks: PROSPERITY AND PARENTHOOD
Demos: A LITTLE COMMONWEALTH
Grimes: PURITAN ETHIC AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE
Kennedy: BIRTH CONTROL IN AMERICA
Kraditor: UP FROM THE PEDESTAL
IDEAS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
O'Neill: DIVORCE IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA
EVERYONE WAS BRAVE
THE WOMAN MOVEMENT
Pickens: EUGENICS AND THE PROGRESSIVES
Rossi, ed. MILL: ESSAYS ON SEX EQUALITY
Scott: THE SOUTHERN LADY
Sennett: FAMILIES AGAINST THE CITY
Smuts: WOMEN AND WORK

COMMENTARY: Women's Experience in History: A Teaching Problem
Alan Graebner

Quite often, upon acknowledging that I do indeed teach a course on the history of women in America, I find the same look on the faces of other historians as appears after an off-color joke. Implicit is the question, why do it? Sometimes I answer, why not do it? But other, considerably more affirmative, answers occur to me.

First, women comprise an important group within the American population to which many of the common generalizations do not apply without much qualification.

Second, as in the case of black history, focusing on a minority group casts considerable, if not always flattering, light on the dominant culture.

Third, young people in American society are subjected to an enormous variety of forces that deliberately or unconsciously seek to confine women, to convince

them that they are second among equals. We have at long last seen what an all-white history does to the self-esteem of the black young. I see little reason to believe that something of the sort does not work in matters of sex. Consider for a moment the typical American survey lectures: quick reference early in the course to Anne Hutchinson and the theological perils of menopause, to Hamilton and Mrs. Reynolds, Peggy Eaton, Amelia Bloomer, the transom voyuerism involving Boss Platt and a lady friend, Cary Nation, Nan Britton and, if there's time, Aimee Semple McPherson. Throw in a few cracks about Mrs. Mitchell in the last session and you've got things wrapped up pretty well. To delete such gaucherie is not much of an improvement, for to say nothing is to confirm in you another way the essential invisibility of women.

What I am trying to say is that history can legitimately play a role in providing for women--and for men--heroines and models, it can be a source of forgotten alternatives, and also a chart of shallow water and treacherous rocks. History, after all, should be a liberating force.

But what about teaching problems one is likely to face? A problem one confronts at an early state is that of the subject's penumbra. As one newsletter editor recently put it, "how do we define women's history? It's easy, of course, if you just include suffragette topics. But does David Kennedy's work on sex roles qualify? And if that does, what about Wishy's work on children? And if that qualifies, then are we back at defining women's concerns as Kinder, Kueche, Kirche?" My own inclination is to be pretty inclusive. For a very long time women's interests have been directed toward Kinder, Kueche, Kirche whether we like it or not, and it seems to me that, however women may define themselves in the present, to understand their experience in the past we should draw on Kennedy, Wishy, Demos, Greven and Cennett and be grateful for their work and hope for more, much more.

This is connected with another problem, access to pertinent materials. A number of reprint programs will shortly ease one aspect of this. Much more serious, though, is the relative dearth of sound historical scholarship on women's experience. Suffragette hagiography abounds, of course, but too often we not only lack satisfying answers, but in many cases, it is not even yet clear what the questions are. Yet all of this is also part of the teaching fun. As long as interlibrary loan, the xerox machine and microfilm printer hold up, it is pleasant to present undergraduates with problems that D.C. Heath has not yet heard of.

There are more important concerns than these, though: one is the relationship in the triangle of student-professor-subject. I once attempted to contribute to a lively class discussion of Charlotte Gilman by pointing out to one student that her comments fit almost precisely a prominent strain of anti-feminist attack. She paused, then dead-panned with perfect timing, "does that mean I flunk the course?" Her joke was a pointed reminder that one of the teaching problems here is what for the absence of a better term I would call the instructor's distance from the subject.

Let me make some of my assumptions explicit here so those who disagree can take more accurate aim. As I understand it, the obligation of the college teacher is to warn his students of his sympathies and perspectives, to keep those sympathies in sufficient control that no student is intimidated, and on occasion to act as devil's advocate. In a phrase, one may woo, but not rape. It is the obligation of the historian, moreover, to employ every strategem of technical expertise, intuition and empathy to understand his subject on its own terms in its own context.

For these reasons I do not accept the radical insistance that a man cannot teach about women's experience in history. This is another way of saying that I am reluctant to solve the problem of distance by absolutizing the conscious-raising function of historical attention to women's experience. As a historian I fear the overpowering presentism this leads to; from another perspective I fear that such a preoccupation would, on most campuses, guarantee

that one would preach only to those already converted.

I see no virtue in respecting a student's ignorance, but the integrity of the student's opinions, even personality, is another matter. The two, however, are often bound closely together on this subject of women--as, I concede, they are on many other subjects as well. But in this case the cement may be basic self-images. Anyone who has witnessed the intense hostility with which even moderate feminism is greeted by some college women and many college men may agree that sexual self-identity is very basic. It is easy in such circumstances to so threaten this self-identity as to make teaching impossible, or at least difficult.

One last matter, that of basic approach to the subject. There is a strong temptation to "do" the subject in terms of outstanding feminists. This it seems to me runs the risk of suggesting implicitly that the way one accounts for the feminist is to look at the individual (or her father) rather than at the conditions facing women at the time. A classic example of this may be Robert Riegel's book, AMERICAN FEMINISTS. Perhaps, given the conditions, the more logical problem is to account for the non-feminist.

An approach comparable to Eleanor Flexner's admirable book, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE, provides a good corrective. But in its emphasis on suffrage it presents another problem, as a reading of the 1848 Declaration and of contemporary literature testifies. To use suffrage as the main theme in speaking of women's experience in history makes it difficult to understand early feminism, does not speak very compellingly to the present, and implies that the history of women is the history of suffrage, or at least of feminism. It seems to me important to get across the point that the history of women is much more than either suffrage agitation or even feminism broadly construed.

I have accentuated the negative and perhaps caricatured specific books to outline in the shortest possible time what I see as dangers--suggesting by inference, I hope, a more positive model. To that model I would also add considerable attention to anti-feminist thought and a strong dose of contemporary women's lib polemic.

It is probably good to conclude on a positive note. If properly done, teaching about women's experience in history does not include one problem common in other history courses: obvious relevance for an impatient generation. Women's experience in history is manifestly relevant--sometimes, I might add a bit wryly, relevant with a vengeance.

WOMEN IN HISTORY

Women's Studies Program
Spring, 1971

Roberta Salper*
San Diego State College

TEXTS
Kraditor, UP FROM THE PEDESTAL
Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE
Sinclair, THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN

Session 1-2 — INTRODUCTION TO STUDY OF WOMEN IN HISTORY
Reading: David Potter, "American Women and the American Character," in John A. Hague, ed., AMERICAN CHARACTER AND CULTURE
Kraditor, "Women in History and Historiography," UP FROM THE PEDESTAL
Gerda Lerner, "New Approaches to the Study of Women in American History," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY, III (Fall,1969).

Session 3-4 — E. H. Carr, WHAT IS HISTORY?

Session 5-6 — Sinclair, EMANCIPATION . . .

Session 6 — Essay exam in class on material covered up to then

Session 7-8 — VARIOUS VIEWS OF WOMEN
Reading: Freud, "Femininity" from SIX NEW LECTURES
Marx, Engels, THE WOMAN QUESTION

Session 9-10 — Engels, ORIGINS OF FAMILY
Kraditor, "Religion and Woman's Status," UP FROM PEDESTAL

Sessions 11-14 — THE FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE
Reading: Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE
For additional reference:
Alan Grimes, PURITAN ETHIC AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE
Anne Scott, "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties," JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY, Aug., 1964.

Session 15-16 — C. Lasch, NEW RADICALISM IN AMERICA, selections

Session 17 — essay exam in class

From the 17th session on, we will be concentrating on case studies of certain women. For the day set aside for the final exam, we can decide if you want a take-home exam or to have it in class. In any case, the exam will consist of several essay questions from which you can choose.

CASE STUDIES

1. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, WOMEN AND ECONOMICS
   HOME: ITS WORK AND INFLUENCE
2. Emma Goldman, LIVING MY LIFE (2 vols)
   ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS (essays pertaining to women)
3. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, EIGHTY YEARS AND MORE (autobio., 2 vols)
   or the 2 vol. revised autobiography by two of her children, Theodore Stanton and Harriet Stanton Blatch.
4. Victoria Woodhull, TERRIBLE SIREN by Emmie Sachs
5. Susan B. Anthony, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, REBEL, CRUSADER, HUMANITARIAN by Alma Lutz
6. Lucy Stone, LUCY STONE, PIONEER WOMAN SUFFRAGIST by Alice Stone Blackwell (her daughter)
7. Ella Reeve Bloor, WE ARE MANY

There are approximately 45 people enrolled in the class; if we break down into groups of 6 or 7 each group could choose which woman it wants to study.

*now at SUNY Westbury

Choose a chairperson of the group who would be responsible for coordinating the group's work. One day each could be devoted to the presentations of each group. We can decide together the order of presentations; everything else can be determined by the groups themselves.

COMMENTARY: Teaching Women in History
Roberta Salper

After teaching Women in History for two semesters at San Diego State, and making lots of mistakes, I'd like to share the following recommendations with anyone who is going to teach a similar course:

This is a course that deals with the history of feminism in the United States up to 1920. Although I make frequent references to our Women's Movement--something the students asked me to do again and again--I found trying to deal with both the nineteenth and twentieth century movements in a one semester course too much. The best available texts are Andrew Sinclair's THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN (Harper Colophon Books, 1965) and Leslie Tanner's anthology, VOICES FROM WOMEN'S LIBERATION (Signet Books, 1970). Sinclair has slightly better than left liberal politics, is weak on working class women and the whole trade union movement, but understands the differences between the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) (Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) (Lucy Stone and Henry Ward Beecher) and supports the more radical feminist position of NWSA.

The alternative texts to Sinclair are Eleanor Flexner's CENTURY OF STRUGGLE (Belknap Press, 1959) and William O'Neill's EVERYONE WAS BRAVE: THE RISE AND FALL OF FEMINISM IN AMERICA (Quadrangle, 1969). Flexner has done good, solid research, but supports the conservative AWSA position--they didn't want to alienate "influential sectors of the community" by attacking marriage and religion as E. C. Stanton did, and advocated the "single-issue" approach: submerge all other concerns and concentrate on getting the vote; they also admitted men and NWSA did not--and, in general, has the politics of an enlightened conservative who favors women's rights. O'Neill is a chauvinist pacifist who thinks he's a radical feminist. His politics are better than Flexner's, but he is offensive and irritating (for example, he devotes three and one half pages to Charlotte Perkins Gilman, two of which are devoted to discussing her "low level of sexual intensity," "inability to make a home for her child" and other such comments). The Tanner anthology combines texts from the first women's rights movement with today's works. Her selection of 19th century works is better than Aileen Kraditor's in UP FROM THE PEDESTAL, and, in many ways, accompanies the discussion in Sinclair's book with concrete examples of speeches, articles, etc.

For the first three weeks, we tried to answer the question, what is history? and what is female history? For this, the best texts are WHAT IS HISTORY? by English Marxist E. H. Carr (Random House, 1963); he's terrific, and three articles that deal specifically with history of women: David Potter, "American Women and the American Character," in John A. Hague, ed., AMERICAN CHARACTER AND CULTURE; Kraditor, "Women in History and Historiography," introduction to UP FROM THE PEDESTAL; and Gerda Lerner's article on female history in JOURNAL OF SOCIAL HISTORY, III (Fall, 1969), pp. 53-62. A discussion of these four works shows that history, as it is taught in the U. S., is not objective, but is a conservative view and that history, properly taught, would, of course, include history of women.

After justifying the current need for a course on women in history, we read Sinclair's book, contrasted it with parts of Flexner's, and thoroughly discussed the suffrage movement, its strengths and shortcomings. The next part of the course analyzed prevailing views of women. Here we dissected Freud's lecture, "On Femininity," the Church's view on women (I used pp. 108-121 of UP FROM THE PEDESTAL for this), and Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, THE WOMAN QUESTION (International, 1951) and Engels' ORIGINS OF THE FAMILY,

Marxism being the only political theory concerned with the status of women, and Freudian psychology being the dominant "ideology" of U. S. educational views on women.

The final portion of the course was devoted to case studies of individual women. I selected the following seven women and the class (about 45 students) divided into groups of seven and each one organized the way it would study and analyze the woman they had selected to deal with. I chose these seven women because Stanton, Anthony and Stone represent the two prevailing trends within the suffrage movement; Goldmann, the Anarchist view; Bloor, the Communist viewpoint, and Gilman and Woodhull, two influential women in the 19th century /Gilman's WOMEN AND ECONOMICS (originally published in 1898; latest edition: Harper, 1966) and THE HOME: ITS WORK AND INFLUENCE (McClure, Phillips, 1903) are classic feminist texts; Woodhull ran for President of the U. S. in 1872 with Frederick Douglass as Vice-Presidential candidate in the Equal Rights Party whose motto was, "Women, Negroes and Workingmen."/ who for various reasons did not work within the suffrage movement.

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HISTORY OF AMERICAN WOMEN

History 159

Mr. Nash
Univ. of Calif./Santa Barbara

I. INTRODUCTION
Reading: Eleanor Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE

II. WOMEN IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL AMERICA
Reading: David Levin, WHAT HAPPENED IN SALEM.

III. THE CULT OF DOMESTICITY, 1830-1850
Reading: Barbara Cross, ed., EDUCATED WOMAN IN AMERICA.

IV. "WOMAN, THE SOCIAL CHRIST"
Reading: Harriet Beecher Stowe, UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

V. SOCIAL FEMINISM OF THE LATE CENTURY
Reading: Jane Addams, TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE.

VI. THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
Reading: William O'Neill, ed. THE WOMEN MOVEMENT.

VII. THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES: EMANCIPATION?
Reading: Zelda Fitzgerald, SAVE ME THE WALTZ.

VIII. HOME AFTER THE WAR.
Reading: Marie Robinson, THE POWER OF SEXUAL SURRENDER.

IX. MINORITY WOMEN IN AMERICA
Reading: Robin Morgan, ed., SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL (selections)

X. THE NEW FEMINISM
Reading: Morgan, selections.

Each member of the class is to choose one of the weekly topics as the subject of a paper. . . . In the paper the student should generalize about the prevailing image and status of women, and should then suggest the origin, social uses, and underlying weaknesses of these ideas about the position of women. Do this by relating the social and economic background presented in the lecture to your intensive analysis of the 3 or 4 books selected from the supplementary reading list. By balancing and comparing the tone, perspective, perception of audience, and social context as well as the forthright opinions of the different authors, the student can achieve insight into the why and wherefore of woman's distinct place in American history.

WOMEN IN AMERICA

History 73
1970-71

Annette Baxter
Barnard College

Suggested background reading for regular sessions:
Eleanor Flexner, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
Suggested background reading for Continuing Conference sessions:
Robert J. Lifton, ed., THE WOMAN IN AMERICA

I. Edmund S. Morgan, THE PURITAN FAMILY
Mary Wollstonecraft, A VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN

II. Initial term paper planning conferences
III. Continuing Conference #1
IV. Robert E. Riegel, AMERICAN FEMINISTS
Barbara M. Cross, ed., THE EDUCATED WOMAN IN AMERICA

V. Emily James Putnam, THE LADY
Charlotte Perkins Gilman, WOMEN AND ECONOMICS

VI. Sinclair Lewis, MAIN STREET
Tess Slesinger, THE UNPOSSESSED

VII. Continuing Conference #2
VIII. Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia F. Farnham, MODERN WOMAN: THE LOST SEX
Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE

IX. Follow-up conference on term paper
X. Continuing Conference #3
XI. Lionel Tiger, MEN IN GROUPS
Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS
Toni Cade, ed., THE BLACK WOMAN: AN ANTHOLOGY

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, DIARIES AND LETTERS

XII. Individual conferences with instructor
XIII. The classic feminine autobiography: Anais Nin, THE DIARIES, vol. 1&2
XIV. The autobiography of rebellion: Zelda Fitzgerald, SAVE ME THE WALTZ
Isadora Duncan, MY LIFE (in paperback as ISADORA)
XV. The autobiography of concealment: Gertrude Stein, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ALICE B. TOKLAS
Alice James, THE JOURNAL OF ALICE JAMES

XVI. Continuing Conference
XVII. The autobiography as documentary: Mary Chesnut, DIARY FROM DIXIE
Charlotte Forten, THE JOURNAL OF CHARLOTTE FORTEN
XVIII. The autobiography of maturation: Mary McCarthy, MEMORIES OF A CATHOLIC GIRLHOOD
Katherine Dunham, A TOUCH OF INNOCENCE

XIX. Continuing Conference
XX. The autobiography of reform: Mary White Ovington, THE WALLS CAME TUMBLING DOWN
Jane Addams, TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE
XXI. The autobiography of the black experience: Mattie Griffiths, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A FEMALE SLAVE
Lorraine Hansberry, TO BE YOUNG, GIFTED AND BLACK
XXII. Evening meeting. Subject to be announced

In the course of the semester, students will write two papers, each about 6 to 8 pages, and deliver one oral report. There is no examination in the course.

F. SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES

SEX ROLES. PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Social Relations Tutorial
Fall 1970--Spring 1971

Shirley Weitz *
Harvard University

This is a problem-centered tutorial which will use the concepts of psychology, sociology, and anthropology to examine the meaning of sex role identity for the individual and society. The course proceeds in logical order from the biological "givens" (including the psychoanalytic view on this) to the acquisition of sex role identity in childhood to the playing out of such roles in society. The latter part of the tutorial will emphasize the consequences of sex roles for women, due to the nature of the field, but, of course, any discussion of the status of women and proposals for change relates very actively to men as well. Aspects of the male sex role will be considered as central to the issue.

It is hoped that a roughly equal number of men and women will register for the tutorial to encourage meaningful discussion and exchange of ideas.

After a short introduction, using a fictionalized account of sex roles, the biological background of human sexual differentiation will be considered. Since biological issues are basic to the topic, it is important to deal with them in some depth. The ethological perspective, as taken by Lionel Tiger, will be discussed in conjunction with this topic. The psychoanalytic perspective, growing out of a quasi-biological view, is also relevant here, especially since it has had such far-reaching influence on thought about sex roles.

The second area of study will be that of sex role acquisition in childhood, as seen from several theoretical perspectives. Experimental studies will also be evaluated. Some structured observational studies by tutorial members will be encouraged, as well as retrospective inquiries into their own socialization experiences.

The fall term will end with a look at the sociology of sex roles. What significance do sex roles have for the maintenance of social structure? What special implications do they have for the institution of the family? A case study (BLUE COLLAR MARRIAGE) will be considered. The issue of women in professional careers, a sex role dilemma, will be given special emphasis here. A theoretical perspective (Cynthia Epstein's WOMAN'S PLACE) and a case study (WOMEN IN MEDICINE) will be used. Student discussion on this issue should be especially relevant here.

The spring term will begin with a short excursion into cross-cultural views of sex roles (Margaret Mead, etc.) and then go on to the heart of the course, the consideration of possible avenues of social change in sex roles, evaluated in the light of the empirical and theoretical evidence previously considered. Books such as A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, SEXUAL POLITICS, and the Marxist approach will be the basis for discussion. The tutorial paper will be due in the early spring, so that discussion of specific topics (e.g., black sex roles) will be facilitated.

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*now Ass't Prof. of Psych.
Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.

Weitz, cont'd

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Tiger, Lionel. MEN IN GROUPS. Vintage, 1970.
Woolf, Virginia. A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929, 1957.

ANNOTATED READING LIST

1. Introduction

Kaufman, Sue, DIARY OF A MAD HOUSEWIFE. Caricatures of sex roles, both male and female.

2. The Biological Background.

Hamburg, D. S., and Lunde, D. T., "Sex hormones in the development of sex differences in human behavior," in Maccoby. What the glands say.

Hampson, J. L., "Determinants of psychosexual orientation," in Beach. What happens to hermaphrodites.

Jay, Phyllis C., "The female primate," in Farber and Wilson. Back to the apes.

Tiger, Lionel, MEN IN GROUPS. Ethological perspective. Feminists hate this o

Freud, Sigmund, "Femininity," Lecture 33 in NEW INTRODUCTORY LECTURES. The straight stuff.

Erikson, Erik H., "Inner and outer space: reflections on womanhood," in Lifton. Slightly diluted (see above).

Millett, Kate, SEXUAL POLITICS, P. 170-220. Critique of Freud and Erikson.

3. Sex role acquisition in childhood: some developmental views

Kagan, Jerome, "Acquisition and significance of sex typing and sex role identity," in Hoffman & Hoffman. General review with emphasis on the concept of identification.

Sears, Robert R., "Development of gender role," in Beach. A look at some work on family dynamics in the development of sex role.

Maccoby, Eleanor E., "Sex differences in intellectual functioning," in Maccoby. Is there a sexual factor in intelligence?

Mischel, W., "A social learning view of sex differences in behavior," in Maccoby. Is it all imitation?

Kohlberg, L., "A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex role concepts and attitudes," in Maccoby. An intriguing hypothesis with some impressive evidence.

4. Sociological implications of sex roles

Parsons, Talcott, "Age and sex in the social structure," in Coser. No Soc Rel course is complete without a Parsons article. . .

Slater, Philip, "Parental role differentiation," in Coser. Commentary on Parsons. Pertinent to Komarovsky, below.

Komarovsky, Mirra. BLUE COLLAR MARRIAGE. Where men are men and women are women.

Epstein, Cynthia, WOMAN'S PLACE. Sociologist's view of the options and limits in professional careers for women.

Bailyn, L., "Notes on the role of choice in the psychology of professional women," in Lifton. Why career (male) ≠ career (female).

Rossi, A. S., "Barriers to the career choice of engineering, medicine, or science among American women," in Mattfield and Van Aken. Why women don't like physics.

Lopate, Carol, WOMEN IN MEDICINE. A case study, with some hard data, to illustrate the above three selections. What happens to a woman who chooses medicine, from the earliest career decision to her life as a practicing physician.

5. A quick cross-cultural perspective

Mead, Margaret, MALE AND FEMALE. Reports of first-hand studies in New Guinea, plus some opinionated Meadism.

d'Andrade, R. G., "Sex differences and cultural institutions," in Maccoby. Sex roles in preliterate societies.

Romney, A.K., "Variations in household structure as determinants of sex-typed behavior," in Beach. Structural determinants of sex roles in pre-literate societies.

6. Movement toward change

Woolf, Virginia, A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN. A classic, which considers, among other topics, the probable career of William Shakespeare had he been born a woman.

O'Neill, W. L., EVERYONE WAS BRAVE: THE RISE AND FALL OF FEMINISM IN AMERICA. The historical viewpoint with a good analysis of why women "lost" after they "won" the vote. Current to late '60's.

Degler, Carl N. "Revolution without ideology: the changing place of women in America," in Lifton. Read with O'Neill.

Rossi, Alice, "Equality between the sexes: an immodest proposal," in Lifton. Ditto to above.

Kanowitz, Leo. WOMEN AND THE LAW. It's all down in black and white--sex roles, that is. What's there and what can be done.

Friedan, Betty, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE. The opening volley in the revival of feminism, the book that started it all over again; a good lay analysis of social trends as they affect women; propagandistic intent sometimes clouds the analysis, though.

Millett, Kate. SEXUAL POLITICS. A radical feminist's view of history, literature, politics, psychology, etc. Perhaps the best book to come out of the current Women's Liberation movement so far.

Morgan, Robin. SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL. Excellent women's lib anthology.

Reed, Evelyn. PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION: A MARXIST APPROACH. Exactly what it says. Marx, Engels, Lenin, etc. on women.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIAL ORDER

Sociology
Fall, 1970

Barbette Blackington
American University

Texts: Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Dell
Margaret Powell, BELOW STAIRS, NY, Dodd, Mead & Co, 1970
Billie Holiday, LADY SINGS THE BLUES, Lancer
Henry James, WASHINGTON SQUARE, Bantam

In the past, ANNA KARININA, by Leo Tolstoy has been read in this course as a document which reveals the position of an upper class woman. It is the finest of the documents which we have examined in the past courses from the point of view of analysis of women's position, but it is lengthy. Stude report that they valued reading it more than other material but found its volume handicapped them in their work in other courses. Anyone who wishes to substitute ANNA KARININA for any of the documents above in encouraged to do so. You are urged to read it over the summer so that it does not interfere with your fall work. . . .

Margaret Mead, SEX AND TEMPERAMENT, Apollo
Ashley Montagu, THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF WOMEN, Macmillan
Frederick Engels, THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, NY, International
Simone de Beauvoir, THE SECOND SEX, Bantam
Aristophanes, LYSISTRATA, Chandler Publishers
Henrik Ibsen, A DOLL'S HOUSE, Penguin
August Strindberg, MISS JULIE, Chandler
Andrew Sinclair, THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN, Harper Colophen
Gerda Lerner, THE GRIMKE SISTERS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA, Boston, Houghton Mifflin,
Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, WOMEN'S TWO ROLES, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul
Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," MR (Handout)
Bertrand Russell, MARRIAGE AND MORALS, Bantam
THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SWEDEN, Report to the United Nations, 1968 (handout)

Requirements: (1) Class attendance is compulsory and a requirement of the course. Students who are not comfortable with this requirement or unable to meet it should not enroll in the course.
(2) There are written assignments, due weekly, on the readings. Your mark in the course is based upon these and your contribution to the seminar. . . .

Class Schedule:

Session 1. Period will be devoted to: Overview of the course. What is involve in the scientific examination of women's position in society. Locatio of women in the population, labor force and educational system. Documentation of her actual economic, political, legal and social positio Nature and extent of prejudice and discrimination against women. Historical background of these social processes. Examination of the patterns of response to inequality: acquiescence, adjustment, accommodation, conflict, resistance, revolt. Impact and significance of female equality upon the social order.

Assignment: Read THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE by Betty Friedan. No written report on this book is required. You should be familiar enough with it to discuss it in class. Previously we have read this book near the end of the course. Students, however, have strongly recommended that it be the first item to which the class is introduced.

PART I: Analysis

The next three assignments are designed to perfect the student's analytical abilities and enable him or her to identify the factors which determine the position of an individual woman in a complex social order. The material used for developing analytic skill is three documents, one novels and two autobiographies.

Session 2. Period will be devoted to: Report on BELOW STAIRS. This is the autobiography of a white, lower class woman, an English servant whose career in service extends roughly between World War I and World II. Read the book giving your attention to the variables which determine and limit her position. Such things such as class standing, educational opportunities, ambition, horizons, personal looks and talents, opportunities to meet men, etc., all enter into the complex fabric of her position, rights, and participation in society.

The position of this woman changes over the years. What were the causal factors in the improvement of her lot?

How do her male counterparts fare at all stages of her life? What privileges and powers do her male opposite numbers possess that she does not? What is the importance of these differences? Isolate as many of the above factors as possible and analyze the significance of them.

3. Report on LADY SINGS THE BLUES. Autobiography of a lower-class black woman who dramatically improves her position.

4. Report on WASHINGTON SQUARE. This is a novel about a white, upper-middle class woman.

PART II: The Nature of Woman

There is a vast literature which seeks to identify woman's actual physical and psychological nature and to differentiate the actual from that alleged to be her nature and behavior on her part which is socially conditioned. We read four works which examine this area: Mead's SEX AND TEMPERAMENT, Montagu's THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF WOMEN, Engel's THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY and de Beauvoir's THE SECOND SEX. The papers which you write on these three works take a different form from those you wrote on the documents in Part I. The form of the reports is to be as follows. The report is to be presented in two parts. The first part is to be an outline of the material in the book. This is the most difficult part of the assignment and that which will take most of your time and labor. None of your opinions or impressions should intrude into this statement. It is to be strictly an objective, factual restatement in outline form.

The second part is to present to the seminar your critical reflections on the book. You are encouraged to bring to bear upon the material the most intellectual, knowledgeable, original and discerning appraisal of what you have thought about the content which you can muster. This part of the report is entirely your domain. You are free to discuss and pursue any avenue you deem significant to a fuller understanding of the work or any thoughts or relationships of value to analysis of women's position which the material has inspired in you.

5. Margaret Mead's SEX AND TEMPERAMENT. Pass in outline and critique

6. Ashley Montagu's THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF WOMEN. Preparatory lecture on Engels. Pass in outline and critique.

7. Frederick Engels, THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY. Outline p.1-75 only. Pass in outline and critique.

Blackington, cont'd

8. Simone de Beauvoir's THE SECOND SEX. P. V-XXIV with care. Write a succinct summary statement of the content of each chapter in the book. Not an outline. Outline the "Conclusion" p. 674-89. Write a critique of THE SECOND SEX as you did for the books which you outlined in the previous three assignments.

PART III: The Realization of Inequality

The papers which you do for all the rest of the books in the course are to be as follows: Either outline the book or article, part one of what you did on Mead, Montagu, and Engels or write a critical review of it, part two of that assignment. Do one or the other. You may vary what you do, obviously, choosing to outline some things and critically review others.

9. Aristophenes' LYSISTRATA and Ibsen's A DOLL'S HOUSE. Lecture on MEDEA.

10. Strindberg's MISS JULIE

11. Sinclair's THE EMANCIPATION OF THE AMERICAN WOMEN. (A film will be shown in class on Margaret Sanger.)

12. Lerner's THE GRIMKE SISTERS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

13. Myrdal and Klein's WOMEN'S TWO ROLES and Benston's article, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation."

14. Russell's MARRIAGE AND MORALS.

15. THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SWEDEN. Summary of course.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN

Sociology 62a
Fall, 1970

Lenore J. Weitzman
Yale University

1.	Sept. 29	The Nature-Nurture Debate: Cross Cultural and Biological Data on Feminine Roles
2.	Oct. 6	Life Styles of American Women (a) Life Styles of Middle and Upper Class Women
3.	Oct. 13	Life Styles of American Women (cont.) (b) Life Styles of Lower Class Women (c) The Double Jeopardy of Black Women Guest speaker: Elsie Washington, LIFE Magazine
4.	Oct. 20	Demographic Characteristics of Women in the United States: Marriage, Family, Divorce and Labor Force Participation
5.	Oct. 27	Role Analysis of Women as "Wives," "Mothers" and "Sexual Objects" (a) Feminine Role Analysis (b) The Role of Wife
6.	Nov. 3	Role Analysis (cont.) (c) The Role of Mother (d) The Role of Women as Sexual Objects
7.	Nov. 10	Women in Literature and The Mass Media Guest speaker: Gloria Steinem, NEW YORK MAGAZINE
8.	Nov. 17	Socialization, Sex Role Development, and Women's Self Concepts
9.	Nov. 24	Education, Educated Women and Women Professionals
10.	Dec. 1	Historical Changes in the Status of Women (with emphasis on legal change) Guest speaker: Sheila Tobias, Wesleyan University
11.	Dec. 8	Women's Liberation

Required Books: Mead, Friedan, Millett and WOMAN WORKERS 1969
Optional: Bird, Epstein, Farber and Wilson, Lifton

. . . . . .

Research Paper: The following list of topics is suggestive of the type and scope of paper you will be expected to write. However, you are by no means limited to these topics.

1. Library: equalitarianism in middle class/or working class families

   Field: interview a sample of married students/or older married couples/or couples with young children about the "division of labor" in their family and its change over time

2. L: images of women in medical literature (general medical texts, or the AMA or local medical journals, or Ob-Gyn texts)

   F: interview M. D.'s on "women's diseases" differential treatment (medicine given, operations performed, etc.) (variations on the above might conclude an analysis of the research on rates of a physical or mental illness and interviews with appropriate medical specialists.

3. L: Content analysis of sex roles and sex role prescriptions in children's books
   F: Observations in a kindergarden class on sex role sanctioning (variations for the library research would include content analysis of children's TV shows, commercials directed at children, comic books,etc (variations for the field research might involve observations of parents and children in a neighborhood playground, social clubs (such as Brownie troops), dancing school or any grade school class. Alternatively you might want to write your own "unbiased" children's story and have it read to a class and discuss their reactions to "the lady doctor" or "the father who washes dishes")

4. L: Social class differences in parental aspirations for children (by sex)
   F: interview a sample of lc and mc mothers/or fathers on the topic

5. L: treatment of women in the judicial process
   F: observe a court in New Haven (preferably divorce court or criminal court)

6. L: analyze the status of women as "sex objects" in literature (define a period or school) or in the mass media (select specific magazines (PLAYBOY, COSMOPOLITAN, READERS DIGEST) or TV shows, or movies, or newspapers, etc.
   F: interview women in their definitions of self and management of "sex-object" roles/or compare the responses from lc and mc women, of single and married women./ Or interview two groups of males on how they define and manage their relationships with women "as sex objects."/ Or interview writers, newsmen, columnists, or literary critics on the subject in their writings.

7. L: examine the literature on women in a particular occupation. (secretary, lawyer, nurse, stockbroker, cab driver, teacher, maid, physician, union organizer, writer, publisher, operative, assembly line worker, sales clerk, policewoman, in advertising, the army, academia, retailing, etc.
   F: interview women in this occupation about how they define their roles, what are the role strains, etc. Or interview both men and women on the occupation or interview pre-professionals and professionals (such as law students and lawyers) on the occupation.

8. L: The career aspirations of boys and girls of different social classes/ different ages/or different racial or religious groups.
   F: interview the appropriate samples of children about their aspirations, the availability of working female role models, their parents' attitudes, etc.

9. L: content analysis of etiquette books over time to discuss changing images and roles for women. (This could be done with women's magazines, short stories in women's magazines, advertisements in women's magazines, advice to the lovelorn columns or TV soap operas)
   F: interview a sample of magazine editors, writers (preferably some male and some female) women's page editors and columnists on what is considered "appropriate" for women.

10. L: the role priorities and the role allocation of mc and lc women
    F: interview appropriate samples of women on their ideal and actual priorities, their time and monetary budgets for each of their roles etc.

11. L: content analysis of sex manuals, marriage and family texts, religious guides to pre-marital sexuality, etc.
    F: interview a sample of clergy, MD's, marriage counselors, etc. on what they advise as "appropriate" sexual relations, adjustment, etc.

12. L: Compare the goals of women's liberation with those of the feminists/ or other minority groups/or examine the role of women in the future envisioned by other "revolutionary" groups.
F: Do a participant observation study of a women's group of which you are a member, or interview women's lib members on their goals and visions of the the future, or interview men and women in another "revolutionary" group on the role of women in the future they want to create.

13. L: Discuss the use of class analysis as applied to women and its valid indicators of women's social status
F: Use your scale of class status to analyze responses of women to your new indicators.

14. L: Do a content analysis of sales manuals for "women's" products
F: interview Avon representatives and Fuller Brush men on their selling technique.

15. L: Do a content analysis of women in art (define a period or compare two artists' work.)
F: interview art students or artists on their conceptions of visual femininity and masculinity

16. L: comparison of the life styles and role strains of single and married women, single and divorced women, married and divorced women or simply a role analysis of single women, married women, divorced women, mothers, unmarried mothers, etc.
F: interview a sample of appropriate women in their solutions to role strain, or the management of their sexual identity, etc.

17. L: Content analysis of employment applications or pre-employment tests.
F: interview personnel workers about the ideal worker and the sex role components of various jobs/or interview about the hiring practices in women's colleges or at Yale.

Additional, less specific topics follow:

1. A comparison of the role of women in two societies, or the same society in a transitional and modern period.
2. a comparison of the life styles of women in different social classes, racial or ethnic groups.
3. women in politics, theatre, academia, etc.
4. the concepts of female in the writings of two authors, in contemporary sociological theory
5. sex biases in high school education
6. role analysis of the female welfare recipient
7. class differences in contraceptive use
8. comparison of research on male and female homosexuals
9. the social-sexual roles of popular heroes
10. reactions to fashion and fashion advertisements by lc and uc women
11. high school students career plans (male v. female), courtship patterns (and how they manage sex) or sex role stereotypes
12. analysis of "attractive" and "ugly" women's roles
13. analysis of same-sex and opposite sex friendship patterns
14. describe and analyze the role of women in a particular religion
15. analyze the status of "black woman" or "glamour girl," or "bitch" or "castrating female" or "Jewish mother" or "swinger"

SEX ROLES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

School of Social Science

Gayle Hollander
Hampshire College

1. INTRODUCTORY SESSION: course expectations, evaluation, and sundry matters

2. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND PATTERNS
   - Flexner, Eleanor, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE, pp. 1-40, 113-130.
   - Kraditor, Aileen S., UP FROM THE PEDESTAL, pp. 79-107.
   - Friedan, Betty, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Ch. 7 (142-173).
   - Mead, M. and F. B. Kaplan, AMERICAN WOMEN: REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, pp. 25-34. 101-110.
   - "Women in Higher Education: Challenging the Status Quo" THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION, Feb. 9, 1970, pp. 2-5 (xerox handout)

3. ECONOMIC POSITIONS
   - Bird, Caroline, BORN FEMALE: THE HIGH COST OF KEEPING WOMEN DOWN, pp. 1-125, 140-200.
   - Peterson, Esther, "Working Women" pp. 144-172 in Lifton, R. J., THE WOMAN IN AMERICA.
   - Mead and Kaplan, pp. 1-24, 35-64, 111-127.
   - Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, 1969 HANDBOOK ON WOMEN WORKERS, skim pp. 1-85, 127-179. 177-200. (reserve)
   - WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER FOR WOMEN (look through issues to date)
   - Women's Bureau "Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap" (xerox)

4. LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN
   - Kanowitz, Leo, WOMEN AND THE LAW. (entire book)
   - Congressional Record for August 10, 1970, hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment (xerox handout)

5. PATTERNS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR: WOMEN COMPARED TO MEN
   - Gruberg, Martin, WOMEN IN AMERICAN POLITICS, entire book
   - Mead and Kaplan, pp. 147-159.
   - Jennings M. Kent and Norman Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources," pp. 469-492 in MIDWEST JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, vol. XII, no. 4, Nov. 1968.
   - Erikson, Joan, "Nothing to Fear: Notes on the Life of Eleanor Roosevelt," pp. 267-287 in Lifton, op. cit.

6. INDUCTION INTO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ROLES: SEXUAL DIFFERENCES
   - Millett, Kate, SEXUAL POLITICS, Chaps. 2, 4.
   - Friedan, Chaps. 2,5,6.
   - Rossi, Alice, "Equality Between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal," pp. 98-143 in Lifton.
   - Greenstein, Fred I., "Sex Differences in Intellectual Functioning," pp. 25-55 in Maccoby, ed., THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEX DIFFERENCES.
   - Bird, Ch. 7
   - Mead and Kaplan, 181-204.

7. THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT
   - Kraditor, pp. 363-369.
   - Ware, Cellestine, WOMAN POWER, Ch. 1, 3, 5.
   - Dixon, Marlene. "Why Women's Liberation?" RAMPARTS, Dec. 1969.
   - "On Women's Liberation." RADICAL AMERICA, vol. IV #2, Feb. 1970.
   - Weisstein, Naomi, "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche as Scientific Law," New England Free Press.
   - Dunbar, Roxanne, and Vernon Grizzard, "Caste and Class," Female Liberation--Cell 16.
   - Freeman, Jo, "The Building of the Gilded Cage"
   - Komisar, Lucy, "Violence and the Masculine Mystique"
   - Hawley, Andy, "A Man's View" MOTIVE, March-April 1969, vol XXIX.

Hollander, cont'd

"Living with the Boy," HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN
"Radcliffe and the Myth of the Good Woman," HOW HARVARD RULES WOMEN.

From NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR:
Mainardi, "The Politics of Housework"
Willis, Ellen, "Consumerism and Women"
Sarachild, Kathie, "A Program for Feminist 'Consciousness-Raising'"
Congress to Unite Women, "What Women Want: For Starters"
"The Redstockings Manifesto"
"The Feminists: A Radical Organization to Annihilate Sex Roles"
and any other articles that interest you: come prepared to talk about them.

8. LOOKING BACK: THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT AND FEMINISM
Flexner, pp. 41-112, 131-331
Kraditor, pp. 183-252
Ireland, W. "The Rise and Fall of the Suffrage Movement," LEVIATHAN, vol.2, #1, May 1970 (xerox)

9-12. STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

WOE IS ME
or
IF I HAD BEEN CINDERELLA

If I had been her,

I'd probably have
Stubbed my toe
In the slipper
And cut my foot
On the glass.

*

It would have been
My luck
To be unbelievably
Ugly

*

There'd have been
Another
Size 5AA
Two cottages down.

*

I might have
Sat on the sidelines
All night because
I didn't know how to
Dance.

*

I'd probably have been
Anti-establishment
Which would have
Put the prince
On the shit-list

*

The prince would have
Believed in
Free love
With no strings

*

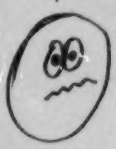
I'd have had some crazy
Psychological understanding
Of the stepmother
And I'd suffer
Guilt feelings
For rejecting her.

*

I'd have probably
Been out of luck because
The good fairy
Decided not to
Get involved.

*

I'd have been
Environmentally depressed,
Hung-up
And made a lousy wife
Anyhow.



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WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Economics 202b
Spring, 1971

Robert Averitt
Smith College

INTRODUCTION TO WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Bird, Caroline, BORN FEMALE, 1968
Breckinridge, Sophonisba, WOMEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1933
Hacker, Helen, "Women as a Minority," SOCIAL FORCES, Vol. 30
Mill, John Stuart, THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN, 1863
Myrdal, Gunnar, AMERICAN DILEMMA, 1944, Appendix 5
Slater, Philip. THE PURSUIT OF LONELINESS, 1970, pp. 53-95
Trager, George L., "A Scheme for the Cultural Analysis of Sex," SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 18, #2 (Summer, 1962) pp. 114-118.

THE ECONOMICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Benston, Margaret, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," MONTHLY REVIEW, Vol. XXI, (Sept, 1969), pp. 13-27.
van den Haag, Ernest, "Women: How Equal?" NATIONAL REVIEW, Sept. 8, 1970, p.945
Jordan, Joan, "The Place of American Women," in David Mermelstein, ed., ECONOMICS: MAINSTREAM READINGS AND RADICAL CRITIQUES, 1970, p. 147-154
North, Gary, "The Feminine Mistake: The Economics of Women's Liberation," THE FREEMAN, Vol. 21,#1 (Jan. 1971), pp. 3-14.
Rowntree, Mickey and John, "More on the Political Economy of Women's Liberation," MONTHLY REVIEW, Vol. XXII (Jan. 1970).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Averitt, Robert T., THE DUAL ECONOMY, 1968. pp. 1-78, 129-154
Bluestone, Barry, "Lower-Income Workers and Marginal Industries," in Ferman, Louis A., et. al., POVERTY IN AMERICA, rev.ed., 1968, pp. 273-302
Fuchs, Victor R., THE SERVICE ECONOMY, 1968, pp. 183-199
Mandel, Ernest, "Where is America Going?" in Maurice Zeitlin, ed., AMERICAN SOCIETY, INC., 1970, pp. 508-524.
Morse, Dean W., THE PERIPHERAL WORKER, 1969, pp. 55-109
Stein, Robert L., "The Economic Status of Families Headed by Women," MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, Vol. 93, #12,(Dec. 1970), p. 3-10
Willacy, Hazel and H. J. Hilaski, "Working Women in Urban Poverty Neighborhoods," MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, Vol. 93, #6 (June 1970), pp. 35-38.

A TIME THEORY OF VALUE

Lindner, Staffan, THE HARRIED LEISURE CLASS, 1970.

ECONOMIC CHOICE, CONSUMPTION, AND WOMEN

Hamilton, David, THE CONSUMER IN OUR ECONOMY, 1962, pp. 32-89
Mitchell, Wesley, THE BACKWARD ART OF SPENDING MONEY, 1937, title essay
Veblen, Thorstein, THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS, 1899, Ch. 4, 7
Walsh, Vivian Charles, INTRODUCTION TO CONTEMPORARY MICROECONOMICS, 1970,7-35.
Willis, Ellen, CONSUMERISM AND WOMEN (handout)

WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Cook, Alice H., "Women and American Trade Unions," ANNALS, Vol. 375, (Jan. 1968), pp. 124-132.
Henry, Alice, THE TRADE UNION WOMAN, 1915.
Henry Alice, WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1923.
Wolfson, Teresa, THE WOMAN WORKER AND THE TRADE UNIONS, 1926.

WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Boserup, Ester, WOMAN'S ROLE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1970
Lewis, W. Arthur, THE THEORY OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, pp. 116-7. 191-6, 311-4,331-3,422
Ward, Barbara,"Women and Technology in Developing Countries," IMPACT OF SCIENCE ON SOCIETY, Vol. XX, #1 (Jan-March, 1970), pp. 93-101.

Averitt, cont'd

WOMAN'S WORK: UNPAID

Blood, R. O., and Wolfe, "Division of Labor in American Families," in Biddle, B. J. and E. J. Thomas, eds., ROLE THEORY, 1966.
Gilman, Charlotte, "The Waste of Private Housekeeping," THE ANNALS, Vol. XLVIII (July, 1913), pp. 91-95
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COMMENTARY: Women in the American Economy
Robert Averitt

Economics 202b. Problems of the Modern Economy. A pro-seminar devoted to the use of analytical techniques. Topic for 1970-71: Women in the American Economy.

Economics 202b is not a course. It is a pro-seminar. In our departmental pro-seminars we consider topics outside the mainstream of traditional work by professional economists. We try to decide, teacher and students, whether or not received economic theory has explanatory power when applied to this new problem. The expected answer is that conventional theory yields a number of useful insights. We then ask whether additional analytical gains can be made by applying unconventional theories or even by developing new ones.

With this in mind, my present plan is to structure Economics 202b around the following themes:

1. Does conventional macroeconomic and microeconomic theory tell us anything about the special and curious role of women in American economic life? In particular, are these theories useful in interpreting the data concerning female industrial employment patterns, female money income, and the allocation of time-use between American males and females?

2. Can general systems theory or an economic theory based upon a time theory of value help explain what we know empirically about the economic tasks performed by women?

3. Given our knowledge of economic theory, what can we say about the validity of the following propositions? How would one go about proving or disproving thses assertions?

A. American capitalism does not create discrimination against women; it merely provides a quantifiable mirror image of women's inferior status in American culture. Men tend to assign themselves the high-status work in every patriarchial culture. Since in America money is an important measure of status, men tend to monopolize those jobs yielding the highest money income. Seen in this light, capitalism is consistent with an inferior status for women, but it does not require it. To attack the capitalist system as woman's oppressor is merely to engage in the common but fruitless assassination of the messenger bearing the bad news.

B. Women do socially necessary work in America even when they remain housewives. They devote their labor-time to the socially necessary tasks of consumption--shopping, cooking, housecleaning, rearing the next generation (this last activity may be considered a form of production as well as consumption). But consumption work, although socially necessary, in traditionally unpaid. In a culture where money income determines status, a specialization in unpaid work may contribute to feelings of inferiority.

C. Most American women who are not members of our impoverished underclass have achieved a form of economic security that we have not yet extended to men. That is, they have, if they are married, a guaranteed annual income. So long as their marriage remains intact, their money income continues. If they divorce, their money income may fall, but it will usually not fall to zero (alimony). Does this peculiar economic arrangement help us gain an understanding of male and female behavior?

D. Every society must produce goods as well as services. Goods production involves the relationship between man and nature, while service work of the "personal service" variety involves the relationship between man and man. In America a division of labor has evolved that assigns most man-nature work to men, and the bulk of man-man work to women. Woman's economic place is in the home with children, or at least in the people-oriented services--nursing, elementary education, retail clerking. If they are to be competently performed, both types of work must be socially reinforced by sanctifying social fictions. Yet these two types of social fiction, one stressing the importance to thing work and the other the importance of people work, seem inherently contradictory. How can this problem of social engineering be solved? Answer: Create a dual culture based, if possible, on a biological, and thus empirically established, difference. A strong candidate for this dual cultural-biological basis if the male-female sex difference. Another possibility, of course, if the difference in skin pigmentation between races. So long as persons of different sex, and persons of different race, internalize the cultural attitudes assigned them, an economic system can have the best of all possible worlds in this matter. Of course, separate is inherently unequal, so money income will flow to the high-status work, putting pressure on those sanctions used to reinforce low-status but socially necessary work.

I hope that this brief statement give the reader some information about the kind of work done in our economics pro-seminars. Needless to say, the questions I have suggested concerning the role of women in the American economy represent no more than a sample of those available.

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY

Economics Seminar
Spring, 1971

Francine B. Weisskoff
Yale University

COURSE DESCRIPTION: The course will focus on the economic role of women and how it has changed over time. The interrelationship of the economic functions of women inside and outside the labor market will be examined. The participation of women in the labor force, the kinds of jobs open to them, their instability of employment and low income levels will be analyzed. Case studies of other countries will be employed to gain an understanding of the factors affecting the status of women. We shall explore the historical role of the women's rights movement and discuss programs for change. Students will be required to undertake an independent research project in consultation with the instructor and to submit a term paper. The following is a list of topics to be covered in the course.

I. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN: The historical changes in the labor force participation of women will be examined. The importance of shifts in the structure of the economy and of national emergencies like the First and Second World Wars in facilitating the employment of women will be discussed. We shall also consider the impact of the changing social definition of a woman's role on the expanded participation of women in market work. The sequential entry into the labor force of young, single women; older, married women; and, most recently, the increased labor force participation of younger married women, many of whom have preschool age children, will be analyzed. We shall discuss the impact of technological changes in home work and increasing levels of education on the availability of women for work outside the home.

II. OCCUPATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FEMALE WORK FORCE: In this section we shall try to gain an understanding of the importance to the economy of the female work force. What industries and occupational categories rely most heavily on women workers? Moreover, what has the increased participation of women in market work meant in terms of their efforts to achieve equal employment opportunity? The heavy concentration of women in a few predominantly female occupations and in the service sector will be discussed. We shall try to reach some conclusions regarding the relative importance of differences in the qualifications and preferences of female and male workers and of discrimination in explaining this phemonena. We shall examine the various levels at which discrimination occurs: in the labor market, in hiring, and in promotion.

III. UNEMPLOYMENT: The different incidence of unemployment on female and male workers will be studied. The impact of unemployment rates on the labor force participation of women will be analyzed. We shall also discuss whether the disproportionate share of unemployment borne by women workers is a cause for social concern and what kinds of policies are needed to reduce the impact of unemployment on women.

IV. THE EARNINGS AND ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN: The lower earnings of women workers will be analyzed in terms of the traditional economic variables and an attempt will be made to discover the importance of discrimination in earnings differences. Through our discussions of the causes of income differentials we shall gain a better understanding of the most effective policy measures to eradicate these differences. Why are the earnings of women workers important? Are the conventional notions that women's earnings are supplementary and not crucial to the economic welfare of their families accurate? Are the lower earnings of women workers related to the problem of poverty, the welfare crisis and other social issues?

We shall also discuss whether it is possible to measure the economic contribution of unpaid household labor. The proposal to pay women for home work will be discussed in terms of its feasibility and implications for the position of women in society.

V. WOMEN AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT: A key issue in this section is the limited participation of women in labor organizations. Is there any evidence that women have been excluded from unions? Are there any factors that make women hard to be organized? Have women played an important leadership role in any labor organizations? The relationship between the small representation of women in unions and inequality in earnings and employment will be discussed. The prospects for greater involvement in labor organizations in the future will be examined.

VI. WOMEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES: Case studies of other countries will be used to gain an understanding of the importance for the economic position of women in society of differences among nations in the level of economic development, method of economic organization and historical traditions.

VII. THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT: The relationship between the women's rights movements and the economic status of women will be discussed. The historical role of women's rights groups in changing the economic position of women and the extent to which organization has been a response to changing economic roles will be an important issue in this section. How is the struggle for equality in the economic sphere related to efforts to achieve equality on other levels?

VIII. THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND PROGRAMS FOR CHANGE: Throughout its discussions, the class will grapple with the difficult question of the appropriate roles of women and men in society. Although readings on the subject abound, in the end, students will have to reach their own conclusions and on these judgments will rest their views on the need for change and the kinds of programs necessary. I hope that the materials presented in the course will provide a valuable frame of reference for our discussions of this issue. Some of the specific policy measures to be discussed include child care, maternity leaves and benefits, equal pay and equal employment opportunities legislation. The role of government, educational institutions and business will also be examined.

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Part III: COLLAGE

editorial

Don't squeeze so, said the Doormouse. You're hurting me.

I can't help it, said Alice. I'm growing.

You've no right to grow here, said the Doormouse.

--suggested by Maureen Hallett,
MOVING OUT, March 1971

News & Views

Item — RUSSIAN WOMEN

Russian girls do not grow up thinking of themselves simply as future wives and mothers. A bright Russian girl who wants to be a lawyer or a doctor will never be advised by a high school counselor to try a more "feminine" occupation. (Such advice for girls is still common in some American high schools as the practice of discouraging black students from applying to first-rate colleges used to be.)

Russians have trouble believing that Westerners consider professions "unfeminine." One Intourist guide, a a motherly-looking woman in her forties who used to be a teacher, says she is always amused by the astonishment of visiting American doctors when they learn that seven out of ten soviet physicians are women. "Some of them seem very ill at ease when they visit our hospitals for the first time time. I actually had one touring doctor who said it was "just terrible" that so many of our doctors should be women.

--Susan Jacoby, "Women in Russia: The True Working Class," THE NEW REPUBLIC, April 4-11, 1970, p.16.

Item — EQUAL PLAY FOR EQUAL WORK IN RE: SHARON POOLE

...Why was she kicked off? she was asked. "Just because I'm a girl I guess." Not so, say the fathers who had her dismissed. "There's never a word about a girl," said Mr. McCarty, sitting with a group of fathers on the right-field fence. "He picked up an illegal player who never tried out. If he picked up a boy, it would have been the same thing. It's too bad people are reading it wrong--they act like we are discriminating against girls." Mr. McCarty and the managers say that six boys remained on the try-out list and they should have been taken before other players were used. Besides, Mr. McCarty said, Little League rules prohibit girls. Mr. Sciuto notes that the Riverside-Bradford League is not affiliated with Little League Baseball, Inc., the national organization, and is not bound by its rules. Further, he asserted, the six boys on the list were no longer available and Sharon "was better than 75 per cent of the league."

--New York Times, July 7, 1971

Item — PENELOPE PITSTOP ISN'T ENOUGH!

...The only word for the feminine image on children's television is crummy. Most offensive in their treatment of women are the cartoons, the biggest group of programs for kids. In an average week there are 50 hours of cartoons, a third of them on Saturday morning. Only one--"The Perils of Penelope Pitstop"--stars a woman. Penelope, a professional racing car driver, talks in a cloying Southern accent and powders her nose a lot; still, there's no question but that she is resourceful and gutsy, and has a sense of humor. She comes across as an intelligent human being, something which can't be said about any other woman in the cartoon line-up....In most segments of "Sesame Street" sex discrimination is right up front. The boy muppets regularly lord it over the few females; little boys in the filmed sequences lead the way while the girls submissively follow; and even a dumdum like Big Bird recognizes that he's lucky to have been born male....

If program content were not destructive enough, sex channeling is reinforced by commercials which peddle dolls to girls and moon rockets to boys....On the cereal and vitamin commercials, power and energy are stressed. But the running, jumping, yelling kids are nearly always boys. Don't girls need energy too? Certainly not in kiddie celevision-land, where the females are helpless physical weaklings who must rely on men to protect them.

--New York Times, Sept. 13, 1970

Item — ABORTION: A MAN'S VIEW

If you have always thought the proscription against abortion is based on a widespread belief that abortion involves the destruction of human life rather than on the sexist oppression of women, consider what the abortion laws would be like if, overnight, men got pregnant instead of women. It is unthinkable that men would be much solaced by womanly assurances that the joys of "motherhood" would compensate for interrupting their work and other activities, keeping them at home and giving them the primary responsibility for child care during the next eighteen years.

--William Cafferty, "Abortion: Women, Men and the Law," in Adams and Briscoe, UP AGAINST THE WALL, MOTHER..., p.362.

"It is a national calamity . . ."

REMARKS, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, MARCH 9, 1970

THE HONORABLE MARTHA GRIFFITHS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Speaker, it is a national calamity that agencies of the Federal Government are violating our national policy, as well as the President's Executive orders, by providing billions of dollars of Federal contracts to universities and colleges which discriminate against women both as teachers and as students.

Our national policy, as expressed by Congress in 5 United States Code section 7151, plainly states:

> It is the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. The President shall use his existing authority to carry out this policy.

The President's Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375, specifically forbids sex discrimination by Federal contractors. These orders are administered by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been designated as the compliance agency to obtain compliance with the Executive orders by colleges and universities with Federal contracts. However, billions of dollars in Federal contracts continue to go every year to colleges and universities which perpetrate vicious patterns of discrimination against women, despite the Executive orders to the contrary. And neither the Labor Department nor HEW does anything to stop or mitigate such discrimination.

Half of our brightest people, the people with talent and the capacity for the highest intellectual and fruitful endeavors, are women. They encounter pervasive discrimination when they try to enter college--when they apply for graduate and advanced training--when they attempt to join the faculties of our most esteemed universities and colleges--and if they finally succeed in becoming teachers, they get less pay and fewer promotions than their male colleagues.

Many universities and colleges with Federal contracts, although forbidden by Executive order from discriminating against women, nevertheless do so by applying quotas for women in admission to both undergraduate and graduate training programs. They discriminate against them in awarding scholarships and providing financial assistance. They discriminate against them in hiring their faculty members. They discriminate by paying their women faculty members less than their male colleagues with similar qualifications. They discriminate by promoting women far more slowly than men.

Although these institutions of higher learning like to view themselves as bastions of democracy, yet they penalize fully half of their potential students by requiring women to meet higher admission standards for admission than men. For example, at the University of North Carolina, admission of women on the freshman level is "restricted to those who are especially well-qualified." There is no similar restriction for male students. In the State of Virginia, 21,000 women were turned down for college entrance, while not one male student was rejected. What has the Federal Government done to change inequities such as these? Nothing--indeed, the Federal Government has not even made a murmur of protest.

Quota systems exist at many universities and colleges, whether openly admitted or not. In fact, the consistent low percentages of women students in medicine, law, engineering, and other professional fields, as well as in

many undergraduate schools, can be the result only of quotas. They are the principal reasons why the percentage of women with M.D. degrees has not increased since 1920, the year that women first got the right to vote. It is sex discrimination in the universities which accounts for the fact that only 7 percent of U.S. physicians are women.

The undergraduate and graduate programs in universities are analogous to the training and apprenticeship programs of industry. Open admission policies, free of discrimination against women, are essential if women are to have the same employment opportunities as other citizens. Unless the universities open their training programs to women on equal basis, women will continue to get the short end of the stick in employment opportunities.

The tragic fact today is that women are losing ground in every segment of university life. Their proportion as students in college is not increasing. Their proportion as students at the graduate level is less now than in 1930. Whereas they held more than one-third of university faculty positions in the 1890's, they now hold less than one-fourth, and at the prestigious Big Ten universities they hold only about one-tenth, of the university faculty positions.

Moreover, women on the faculty generally are at the bottom of the academic hierarchy. Often they lack tenure. The higher the academic rank, the less is the percentage of women. For example, a recent study of 188 sociology departments in universities across the country showed that women are 30 percent of the doctoral candidates, but only 14 percent of the assistant professors, only 9 percent of the associate professors, and only 4 percent of the full professors.

For years there has been a shortage of college teachers, yet there have been little serious efforts to recruit women for college faculties. The excuse often given that there is a shortage of qualified women is ridiculous. For example, at Columbia University women receive about 25 percent of its doctoral degrees, but comprise only 2 percent of the tenured faculty in its graduate schools. Furthermore, contrary to academic mythology, a higher percentage of women with doctorates go into college teaching than do men with doctorates. The argument that women are lost to the academic world when they marry is also a myth, since over 90 percent of the women with doctorates are in the labor force. Women comprise 40 percent of the faculties in teachers' colleges, and about the same in junior colleges. But in the prestigious private and State universities the percentage of women teachers is much less.

Is it discrimination against women, or mere coincidence, that the great University of Chicago has a lower percentage of women on its faculty now than it did in 1899? Can anyone seriously argue that there are less qualified women now than in 1899?

Even in the field of education, where one might expect women to predominate, they are generally conspicuously absent in the upper ranks. A recent study shows that the University of Maryland's Department of Early Childhood Education, where women professors are 47 percent of the faculty, has almost all of these women--13 out of 15--at the lowest rank of assistant professor.

Women college teachers simply do not get promoted as often or as quickly as their male colleagues with similar qualifications. Ninety percent of the men with Ph.D's and at least 20 years of academic experience are full professors, whereas barely half of the women with the same qualifications have that rank. At Stanford University, 50 percent of the men, but only 10 percent of the women, on the faculty are associate or full professors. Somehow, women who are qualified enough to be hired are not "qualified" enough to be promoted.

In some places they simply are not hired at all. The University of Pennsylvania, for example, has only four departments with more than two women, and 26 departments with no women at all. Similar incredible examples exist in many universities and departments in practically all areas of higher education.

Even when the universities hire women, they do not get the same salaries as men on the campus. Numerous studies document the pay differences between men and women with the same academic rank and qualifications; deans of women make far less than deans of men, even at the same institutions.

I heard of one woman who had been an associate professor for more than 10 years, discovered she was earning at least $1,000 less than the bottom salary which that university paid to its men associate professors. In the academic world, women instructors earn less than male instructors; women assistant professors earn less than male assistant professors; women associate professors earn less than male associate professors; and women full professors earn less than male full professors; and there is every indication that the gap between the salaries of men and women faculty members is growing wider.

The picture is even more dismal at the administrative level. The number of women college presidents is decreasing. Women rarely head departments. At the University of Maryland, for example, in the College of Education, only one department--Special Education--is headed by a woman. At Columbia College, the undergraduate men's college of Columbia University, only one woman--the librarian--is on the administrative staff. The proportion of women in college and university leadership positions is lower than it was 25 or even 10 years ago.

The vast extent of Federal moneys received by universities and colleges is documented in the recent report by the National Science Foundation entitled "Federal Support to Universities and Colleges, Fiscal Year 1968," report No. NSF 69-32, dated September 1969. That report reveals that 2,174 universities and colleges received $3,367 million from the Federal Government in fiscal year 1968. Of this amount, $2,340 million went to support academic science, and $1,027 million to support nonscience activities, at those institutions.

. . . . . .

It is shocking and outrageous that universities and colleges, using Federal moneys, are allowed to continue treating women as second-class citizens, while the Government hypocritically closes its eyes. Remedial action must be taken, at once, to bring the universities and colleges in line with the requirements of the Executive orders. I am now assembling a list of all universities and colleges with Federal contracts. As a first step, I call upon the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to contact all of these institutions to obtain from them full and detailed information, with respect to men and women, concerning: First, admission policies, including quotas; second, financial aid; third, hiring practices; fourth, promotions; and fifth, salary differentials for those with similar qualifications. I also call upon the Secretary of Labor to take prompt action on the complaint filed with him on January 31, 1970, by the Women's Equity Action League--WEAL--concerning the pattern of blatant discrimination against women in our universities and colleges with Federal contracts. WEAL's complaint strongly indicts the pervasive patterns of sex discrimination perpetrated by many universities.

[Congresswoman Griffiths then appended supporting material from WEAL in the form of a letter to the Secretary of Labor detailing the charges against universities.]

RACISM AND ANTI-FEMINISM

BY THE HONORABLE SHIRLEY CHISHOLM
MEMBER FROM NEW YORK (BEDFORD-STUYVESANT)
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[The paragraphs below are excerpted from an article appearing in BLACK SCHOLAR, January-February, 1970.--BC]

I am both black and a woman. That is a good vantage point from which to view at least two elements of what is becoming a social revolution; the American Black Revolution and the Women's Liberation Movement. But it is also a horrible disadvantage. It is a disadvantage because America, as a nation, is both racist and anti-feminist. Racism and anti-feminism are two of the prime traditions of this country.

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A few short years ago if you called most Negroes black it was tantamount to calling them niggers. But now black is beautiful and black is proud. There are relatively few people, white or black, who do not recognize what has happened.

Black people have freed themselves from the dead weight of the albatross of blackness that once hung around their neck. They have done it by picking it up in their arms and holding it out with pride for all the world to see. They have done it by embracing it--not in the dark of the moon but in the searing light of the white sun. They have said "yes" to it and found that the skin that was once seen as symbolizing their shame is in reality their badge of honor.

Women must come to realize that the superficial symbolisms that surround us are negative only when we ourselves perceive and accept them as negative. We must begin to replace the old negative thoughts about our femininity with positive thoughts and positive actions affirming it and more.

But we must also remember that that will be breaking with tradition and we must prepare ourselves--educationally, economically and psychologically--in order that we will be able to accept and bear with the sanctions that society will immediately impose upon us.

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It is not feminine egoism to say that the future of mankind may very well be ours to determine. It is simply a plain fact. The softness, warmth, and gentleness that are often used to stereotype us are positive human values; values that are becoming more and more important as the general values of the whole of mankind slip more and more out of kilter.

The strength that marked Christ, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King was a strength born not of violence but of gentleness, understanding and genuine human compassion.

We must move outside the walls of our stereotypes but we must retain the values on which they were built.

No, I am not saying that we are inherently those things that the stereotypes impute that we are; but I am saying that because of the long-enforced roles we have had to play we should know by now that the values are good ones to hold and I am saying that by now we should have developed the capacity to not only hold them but to also dispense them to those around us.

This is the reason that we must free ourselves. This is the reason that we must become revolutionaries in the fashion of Christ, Gandhi, King and the hundreds of other men and women who held those as the highest of human values.

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SOME DILEMMAS OF THE EDUCATED--ESPECIALLY WOMEN

BY DAVID RIESMAN
HENRY FORD II PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

(Convocation Address at Chatham College--September 16, 1969)

/I am grateful to David Riesman for sending a copy of this address along with his questionnaire. In it, he places the dilemmas of college women today into the larger context of history and the changing attitudes of Americana toward their purposes and their world. We did not have space for the entire argument but could not resist including large sections, even at the risk of wrenching out of context--particularly unfortunate in this instance since there will surely be some readers, myself included, who will disagree strongly with some of the later themes. I have tried to do as little damage as possible to the context at this point. My apologies to Professor Riesman for not including everything.--BC/

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Throughout history, privileged groups have felt only intermittent need to justify their favored position. This was simply given in the order of the world, reflected in the fatalism of many of the less privileged, and altogether understandable in societies where good things were scarce and where it was inconceivable, except to mad visionaries, that there would ever be enough to go around. For a minority in the West, Christianity gave pause to the privileged, asking them at least to be responsible for the less fortunate and at most to give up all and follow Christ. Some of my mother's contemporaries founded settlement houses and helped create the profession of social work; but it may be almost impossible for a young person in Pittsburgh today to recapture what it must have been like to live at the turn of the century with some moderate feeling of responsibility for the less well-off but with no great sense of urgency in the matter. . .

Today, in contrast, we live in a time when there is a greater possibility of total destruction of mankind than in any previous period of history. (Indeed it is a time that is overwhelmed by nightmares and fantasies of such total destruction.) I have myself acted on the judgment since Hiroshima that this threat dwarfs all others, even the great domestic problems of this country. I am inclined to think that if we can bring the weapons of mass destruction under international control, then the so-called conventional wars and the civil wars and exploitations that have been the legacy of history, terrible as these are, can be tackled with hope that there will be a future, conceivably even a better future. But at the same time that we have these nightmares, we live at a time when it is also widely believed that it is possible to spread the benefits of affluence and of higher education to everyone almost instantly. The median family income of Americans now stands close to $8,000. But this relative abundance has helped dramatize the abysses of both relative and absolute poverty, even while our scientific and technological advances have led many to conclude that we could distribute the social benefits of this power if only we wanted to.

I myself for a long time believed this. Twenty years ago, my collaborators and I in THE LONELY CROWD argued a position that has since become prevalent, namely, that the problems of America did not lie on the side of production, but only of distribution; we took for granted that the economy would continue under its own momentum, and that the skill and equipment of the work force were not major problems for the future. I am now persuaded that this was a vast overstatement and have concluded that no economy can be taken for granted and that its continuation, let alone improvement, demands unremitting intelligence and effort.

Yet many students in our colleges and universities have become persuaded that science and technology are at best boring and at worst positively harmful. I looked up the figures of last year's Chatham seniors to see if there were any going on to do physics, and while there were some in biology or in biomedical careers, Chatham, like other good women's colleges, sends almost no women into the natural sciences. Of course hardly any American women enter engineering and technology. The idea that these are inhumane subjects for drones and careerists has not only made us postindustrial before we can afford it, but has also denied many young people the chance to pursue careers which in fact offer challenges whose intellectual and emotional range is frequently underestimated.

Viewed in one of its aspects, the current attitude among young people like yourselves is one of aristocratic disdain for those consumer goods which are valued by people of less cultivation. It seems to me a social advance that many well-educated young people from college-educated families should have moved away from the greed and mindless rivalry of earlier generations of American students. As the hunger for possession abates, there is much less showing off of one's physical accoutrements. But perhaps this asceticism is too recent to be accompanied by tolerance for those who have not yet attained it. Among many young people, there is a fervent desire to show off one's lack of showiness, one's moral purity and one's sincerity. Many of you, no doubt, recall the movie THE GRADUATE. The "graduate's" floundering is portrayed as more attractive than the trivial or decadent purposes pursued by the adults around him. By withdrawal from these, he expresses his harsh judgment upon the nouveaux riches among his parents' friends, even though he himself has an addiction to sports cars and almost certainly has a hi-fi set. (He blithely disregards as a philistine jock the medical student who marries the girl he himself runs away with.) However one may feel about the moral and aesthetic aspects of these judgments, it seems clear to me that their political consequences can be damaging. Moderately well-off but unsophisticated Americans a are the great majority. Their affluence is still too new to have created its own antibodies, and they feel insecure in the face of social scorn from the liberally educated, and in the face of envy and hostility from the really deprived. To redeem the lot of the latter, whether in Appalachia or inside our cities, requires measures that do not threaten or take anything away from the white-collar and blue-collar strata.

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In this situation, many young men in college feel that it is unjust for them to be sheltered even temporarily from the draft by educational deferments, and their protests against the war may have a special edge on account of this. But a good many young women in colleges like Chatham have come to feel that they also are sheltered from the fate of the harsh underside of society and that they must in some fashion compensate for this. It may be that the exceptional fierceness of some young women in recent protests reflects among other things their anger that they do not face a direct antagonist like General Hershey, but most create one, even if it has to take the form of their own college deans. Like those vigorous Southern white women who have always resented being put on a pedestal, some young women in our Northern colleges today are rebelling against the privileges allowed their sex in return for a certain degree of subordination.

For the woman who is a college student, these four years can be a very special sort of moratorium in terms of relative freedom from subordination. Yet during the four years which in my mother's generation allowed some leeway for the privileged to learn new intellectual skills, to read books, to learn how to play an instrument and a lifelong sport, to read as well as to write poetry--in these four years it seems that today some of our most intensely involved young people cannot postpone immersion in the political and parliamentary practices of adulthood. In part, this development reflects a general precocity in which the Nineteenth Century slogan of the labor movement, namely, "a childhood for every child," seems to become less and less attainable. The

age of puberty is actually dropping physiologically, thanks to better nutrition (and possibly, greater stimulation). The age of sexual, social, and political consent is dropping too. Often young people by the time they arrive in college have held jobs which widened their experience of life, have experimented with drugs and with sexual commitments, and have become immersed in serious politics within their educational institutions, if not in the larger society. The temptation for young people to merge their childhood and their adulthood leads me sometimes to envisage college students as spending four years in committee work when in fact they will spend much of the rest of their lives in committee work. In some cases, the fear of nuclear and other disaster makes it difficult to postpone things and even difficult to imagine a future at all, least of all one which will by mere chronology bring college students eventually to positions of influence and leverage. Furthermore, it seems to me especially difficult for idealistic young women to defend themselves by fatalism or cynicism against their own idealism. They want to express their deep concern and to show that they are not callous. On some campuses, this can make them vulnerable to coercion by militant and usually male activists, who ironically may succeed in subordinating college women to a cause in the very act of rejecting subordination. (It may be that this paradox is an element in the formation of chapters of the Women's Liberation Movement on some of the more activist campuses.)

Young people are often tempted today to suppose that the war against war and against injustice requires only will and courage, and not also trained intelligence. One can see this perhaps most poignantly if one talks with black students in the best colleges and universities. I have sometimes said to such students that I believed in a division of labor not only among individuals and society at any one time, but also in terms of chronological time. Thus, there is every justification for young blacks taking advantage of college just as young whites might do, recognizing that they would make a contribution to their less privileged fellows later on, according to their developed and mature talents, without sacrificing their education to their civic sense of responsibility. Collectively, black students almost uniformly reject this: they refuse to believe that they can wait even a year, let alone four or more years. A promise of later service does not free them for what they would regard as present self-indulgence. Privately, it is sometimes another story. I have talked to a few such students, especially graduate students, who asked whether there are colleges where they would be under less fierce pressure to be angry and active--pressure that comes at least as often from whites as from fellow blacks. Some have talked with me about going overseas to study in countries where the race problem is less exigent, where they could have a hiatus or moratorium against continuous commitment, the continuous need to prove that they are purer, braver, angrier, more black and less Negro than others. I myself feel that is not only an individual but a social tragedy that there is such monolithic pressure on black students today. It is a way of destroying the seed corn when the famine may last for a long time.

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The consequences for college women of the altered attitudes of college men are hard to assess. It has occurred to me that men who are themselves less competitive may feel somewhat less threatened by active career-minded women; they may no longer care to monopolize prestigeful positions. However, an ideology which regards competition, striving, and ambition as bad may be easier to avow than to live up to in all aspects of life; and men must be really quite mature if they are not to feel threatened by assertive women. We all carry our own individual childhoods inside us. It is not so easy for individuals to overcome cultural inheritance with respect to sexual rivalry. Furthermore, since men still set the cultural pace and style, the current tendency to reject careers and ambition catches women at that point in their development as an oppressed group when they have not yet quite made it in terms of careers and ambition. They are a little in the position of the upwardly mobile person who is suddenly told, in a good college which he has striven to reach, that

ambition is simply a hang-up, that striving is a sign of inauthenticity, and that it is more important to be than to do. . .

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Let me put what I have said in more general form. Since 1946, I have taught at high-powered undergraduate colleges at Chicago, at Johns Hopkins, a and at Harvard. For most of this period my concern was often to prevent the deflation of students as they looked around in their freshman year and noticed five hundred other valedictorians, or as they suffered their first B rather than their taken-for-granted A in the very field in which they had thought to specialize. I felt it my job to help such students recognize that in terms of world norms they were still extremely bright even if they had the disgraceful grade of C in a particular field that interested them. I would try to persuade them that they could make a contribution even if they were not as articulate or arrogant as some of their fellow students. In the last few years the situation has been somewhat reversed. There are student circles in elite colleges where a halting inarticulateness is taken as a sign of sincerity and inner poise. Students are less obviously competitive, and many are more inclined to coast. A hedonism that was once thought to be collegiate and rejected by the non-conformist college minority, has now become part of the political culture of the non-conformists. Yet, underlying the decline of open ambition and the frequent notes of humility there may be a certain covert grandiosity. For, where at one time hunger for the trappings of success and lack of modesty were the problem for young men and women, now I sometimes feel it is another kind of narcissism, that is, their belief that if they really extended themselves and were not so concerned with social injustice, then they could be distinguished medievalists or novelists or whatever else. While this is often so, it is still a defense and a problem. I do not know what the balance of dangers might be here at Chatham and I imagine some of you have suffered from deflation and some possibly from inflation. Both of these attitudes inhibit learning. Both make curiosity difficult. The inflated person already knows; the deflated person despairs of ever knowing. Both are apt to suffer from boredom and then to try to compensate for this by excitement.

Since I am myself an academic person, some of you may have taken my remarks thus far as a plea for careers, as a polemic against marriage, home, and motherhood. That has not been my intention. In this troubled world where many young people are putting off marriage, uncertain about the draft and the war, and sometimes experimenting with communal living or other temporary relationships, the young woman has a particularly hard time. For emancipated as she is, she is still more likely to be seeking a stable relationship and eventual marriage than is the young man. She needs, therefore, perhaps more than ever, something she can do: a skill or a profession that gives her confidence. I am saying that most young women coming out of colleges like Chatham probably eventually want what might be termed marriage-plus, not career minus.

I have some fragmentary evidence for this view in a recently completed study by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation of the career progress and plans of women Merit Scholarship winners who entered college between 1956 and 1960. Something like eighty per cent of this group believed that they could manage both a family and a career. Some of these, understandably, felt pulled and hauled in different directions, and a few thought they were discriminated against on grounds of sex. But these highly talented women, on the whole, had confidence that they would be resilient enough to reconcile competing demands and that they had managed it so far.

Although women outperform men in school, as all of you surely know, men enrolled in college outnumber women by three to two, reflecting among other things the feeling in many families that a daughter's education matters less than a son's--a verdict many young women of less than outstanding talent, energy, or money, seem inclined to accept. Even so, the number of women attending college has grown enormously, along with rising enrollments generally. But this has not been reflected in the proportion of women pursuing post-baccalaureate degrees which may in fact have declined. It is arguable to what

extent discrimination enters the picture here. Many departments have felt that a woman is not as apt as a man to do them credit, even if she does pursue her studies through to a doctorate; and having to choose among scarce resources, departments have felt it better to bestow these on a man. Such a judgment seems to me in some respects too individualistic, and in others insufficiently so. It is too individualistic in not taking account of the contributions of a catalytic sort that I believe women can make in helping institutions become less dehydrated for both sexes. It assumes that each student will be completely self-reliant, a Lone Ranger of the academic plains, without any need of support from a humane intellectual community. But on the other hand, the discrimination against women is anti-individualistic in treating them as a cadre among whom there is a high statistical probability that either before or after the Ph.D. they will drop out of professional work as men define it. It means discriminating against a particular woman because of the record other women have made, something which today would be regarded as indefensible vis-a-vis black or other minority applicants. Furthermore, I think it is important to take chances on women graduate students because women look at people, at concepts, at materials in general, in perspectives marginally different from those of men. This is so in spite of today's blurring of sex boundaries. If women enter a field in sufficient numbers, they may not merely be molded by it but may also help mold it. The changes will be subtle and will reflect both the social definitions of what it is to be a woman and possibly and arguably some residual more panhuman differential between the sexes.

And yet, as I have already implied, I think the overt discrimination against women is much less important than their own attitudes in explaining the career choices many make. Census data show that a higher proportion of women is married today than at any previous time in our history, and a higher proportion is also at work. The Chatham career data show that Chatham graduates almost all report plans either for further schooling or for jobs. Given all the problems men face and families face in the United States, it is understandable and often admirable that many women conclude that on marriage they will hold down a job but not try to pursue a career, leaving that to their spouses. That minority of college women which decides on a two-career family faces many obstacles. They must find a sufficiently unanxious and unthreatened man--and even then it would be hard. There are very few young women today, even from wealthy families, who believe it legitimate to have servants and nurses or anything more than periodic amateur babysitters. They dare not exploit their privilege in this way, and they rationalize this by saying that it would be bad for the baby to be taken care of by a stranger, or that it is impossible to get help anyway. Also, menfolk do not want that either--they want the pleasure of helping bring up the children and they are sometimes willing to share in the housework and even to go beyond gastronomic showmanship in the kitchen.

However, there are certain kinds of professions which I believe women could continue even while taking care of small children. Certain kinds of technical work and teaching, for example, certain kinds of research, certain fields within medicine (and dentistry) or in the law, some of them lacking in glamor perhaps but of enormous social usefulness. However, women seldom choose professions with such thoughts in mind. Although they reject behaving like princesses and having others take care of their children and housework, they are inclined to feel that they and the society can afford their working at a level well below their potential talents. Many bright college women enter the labor force insufficiently trained and insufficiently committed, and thus frequently have a series of more-or-less temporary jobs. Like some young men of hippie persuasion, they may believe that all careers are in some measure stultifying, and that if they cannot be truly creative, they might as well take any odd job that brings them into contact with human beings who are not totally disagreeable. I do not mean to reject this mode of thinking

completely. It allows many people to find fulfillment in work without high status or visibility, work which can draw on talents for nurturance and support of others which in a more competitive era would have been suppressed.

Indeed, my quarrel is less with the actual decisions young women make than with the lack of thought and planning during college concerning what one needs to learn now in order to be free to make choices later. It is difficult for young women while still in college to look ahead to the time when the last child of their not-yet-existent family will be grown and flown and when they will still have many years of energetic usefulness left and insufficient preparation in terms of a skill or a profession for re-entering the work-force in an interesting way. My own judgment is that a young woman who in college has mastered a subject with passionate intensity, almost irrespective of what it is, is prepared by that very fact to immerse herself in another subject when she wants to become again fully employed--it is like learning a new language after she has already learned one or two. But I see many young people of both sexes who drift through college hoping that they will fall into a subject that interests them much as they hope they will fall in love, not realizing that one has to work at it a bit and that it does not come through waiting.

Yet it is also true that, at every level of schooling, women are on the whole more responsive and responsible than men. As infants and children they have been raised and taught by people of the same sex, against whom they do not feel they must establish a separate identity in the way that many boys feel thay must vis-a-vis mothers and female elementary school teachers. Huck Finn had to "light out for the Territory." A study (by Michael Maccoby) of sixth-grade boys and girls in a Brookline, Massachusetts, public school, concluded that the relation of girls to what they learn was less contaminated or blocked by struggles over authority and the role of the sexes than it was with boys; the girls could respond both to the teacher and to the subject matter without feeling that they were being sissies or subordinated. Whether this is in the educational interest of girls or not depends on many factors. Sometimes in the past I have felt that college women, being far less likely to bluff than boys, have a harder time focusing on the one exciting course they are taking while at the same time protecting their standing in all their other courses.

Another way of putting it might be to note that young women respond to the instructor as a person; they hate to let him down--and paradoxically this sometimes leads young women to be reluctant about getting deeply involved in their majors, lest they do let their professor down if they drop the field for marriage or a less demanding career. (I say this in the face of our folklore and novels which are full of sexy college girls who beguile their professors into giving them good grades and recommendations.)

These marginal differences in the way the two sexes approach teachers and learning led me to suggest in the commencement address that I gave at Bennington College a dozen years ago that for a certain number of young women it made sense to have a period in their education, perhaps before college or perhaps in college, when they were not thrown with men inside all classrooms. This seemed to me especially true for certain kinds of rather shy young women, not eager or self-confident enough to compete with domineering young men, particularly since male students are quite free about talking in discussions whether they have done the reading for class or not, and perhaps especially if they have not. Furthermore, since even in our emancipated day men matter slightly more to women than vice versa, college women have in general fewer defenses against being preoccupied with men; they have fewer hobbies and same-sex diversions. Women are not able even in a women's college to create the solidarity that is at least adumbrated or hoped for among other disadvantaged groups such as blacks. This is understandable, since women are tied as daughters, sisters, girlfriends, or spouses to men, whether they like it or not;

they cannot create an autonomous sub-culture of women, except perhaps in a convent (and seldom happily there). Women must live in the enemy camp, perhaps one reason why the tone of the Women's Liberation Movement at times has become so shrill. Correspondingly, a women's college may provide a few islands of temporary solidarity among women, and some intense friendships (although because we live in a less innocent time today, same-sex friendships are often viewed with a certain apprehension).

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. . . In our selective colleges, young men and women face analogous dilemmas of privilege. Both face the impulse to sacrifice the future on behalf of the burning present. Both may be taunted and tempted to sacrifice what is elite or precious or special by the argument that doing so will help the less privileged--although I myself would contend that to pull down the heights of culture will not help fill its abysses.

Both sexes face the problem of living at a time when many people doubt whether our institutions are viable or can be redeemed through the ordinary processes of democracy and incremental reform. Such desperate waves of feeling have occurred before in American history, in the great movements of religious revival and in the crusading fervor that spread and spent itself in the Civil War.

Thus it is hard to know whether American women have come to claim their inheritance at a moment in history when the society is on the verge of disaster or not. Surely we are living at a time when the old American boosterism and complacency have vanished or become nearly attenuated, not only among the educated, but quite generally. Some soured idealists have responded by an indiscriminate nihilism. Others, more patient, are experimenting with new life-styles in the hope that these will spread. Still others are sounding the alarm not only about war and racial (and sometimes sexual) oppression, but about a whole congeries of problems, such as environmental pollution, that are in a sense the legacy of earlier advances. Some prophecies of disaster prove themselves true; others serve to spread the alarm.

Yet even if our society is desperate, I would think it was better for students to put off political involvement and get an education first; but even if I am mistaken about that, I am more certain that they should not be coerced into such involvement before they are ready for it, and that they should have the right to choose its timing, as of their marital involvement. Some of you may well regard these views as over-protective. Perhaps others of you will conclude that, precisely because the future is so cloudy and uncertain, it may be worth your while to prepare for a distant future; and by doing so you may possibly help create that future.

THE SECOND SEX, JUNIOR DIVISION

BY ELIZABETH FISHER
(From The New York Times Book Review, April 10 1970)

. . . Investigating books for young children in book stores and libraries I found an almost incredible conspiracy of conditioning. Boys' achievement drive is encouraged; girls' is cut off. Boys are brought up to express themselves; girls to please. The general image of the female ranges from dull to degrading to invisible. Since females comprise 51 per cent of the population of the United States, one would expect them to be equally represented in the world of picture books. On the contrary they vary between 20 and 30 percent. There were five times as many males in the titles as there were females, four times as many boys, men or male animals featured as there were females. In special displays the situation was even worse. The fantasy worlds of Maurice Sendak and Dr. Seuss are almost entirely male. The three major prizewinners for this year . . . were all about males. . . . Where are all the missing females?

Since there are so few females in the picture-book world, one would think they'd be very busy, but such is not the case. What they do is highly limited; more to the point is the sheer unreality of what they do not do. . . . Little girls in picture books tend to be passive, though sometimes manipulative. They walk, read, or dream. They seldom ride bicycles; if they do, it is seated behind a boy as in Dr. Seuss's ONE FISH, TWO FISH, RED FISH, BLUE FISH. . . .

Though there have been women doctors in this country for over a hundred years, and pediatrics is one of their preferred specialties, there is not a single woman doctor to be found. Women are nurses, librarians, teachers--but the principal is always male. They have emotions; they get angry; they disagree; they smile; they approve or disapprove; they want to please. What they do not do is act. Boys do; girls are--a highly artificial and unsatisfactory dichotomy. In a country where over 40 per cent of the women work, I know of only one picture book about working mothers. . . .

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WOMEN IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

BY ALLEEN PACE NILSEN
(From COLLEGE ENGLISH, May 1971)

. . . I was shocked last May to read Elizabeth Fisher's article in the NEW YORK TIMES which charged that children's books were unfair to girls. . . . This was followed by skepticism and finally by reluctant agreement. I took my first step between skepticism and agreement when I remembered some advice I received in a course entitled "Writing for Children." The instructor told us that the wise author writes about boys, thereby insuring himself a maximum audience, since only girls will read a book about a girl, but both boys and girls will read about a boy. . . .

. . . .Of the fifty-eight books [on display at Eastern Michigan University], twenty-five had a picture of a woman somewhere in them. And of these twenty-five books, all but four had a picture of a woman wearing an apron. . . . I also found a mother alligator, a mother rabbit, a mother donkey, and a mother cat all wearing aprons. In the four books which showed women without aprons, the leading characters included a teaching sister whose habit had a long white frontispiece, a queen who was knitting, an Indian squaw who was stirring a pot of food, and a mother who was taking her children on an outing. . . .

It is ironic that in recent years, little girls lost out in two different ways. Boys are the dominant figures in the non-fiction section of the library because they are thought to be more able than girls in such fields as math, science, and statesmanship. Then they are the dominant figures in the beginning-to-read books for just the opposite reason. They are thought to be less able than girls in the field of language arts. . . .

tuning in to the women's movement

The following list of publications on the women's movement has recently been revised, but it can be neither exhaustive nor completely current. It is merely designed to put you in touch with selected useful sources. It should not be interpreted as an endorsement. A rich bibliography is available from Lucinda Cisler, 107 W. 80th St., N.Y. 10024 at 50c. When writing for information it is helpful to struggling women's groups to enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope.

PUBLICATIONS

NATIONAL NEWSLETTERS, General Coverage:

The Spokeswoman, 5464 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill. 60615, monthly, $7/yr to individuals, $12/yr. to institutions. Susan Davis, editor and publisher.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION PUBLICATIONS (newspapers--np, newsletters--nl, journals--j, magazines--m)

Ain't I A Woman (np) WLF, 301 Jefferson Bldg., Iowa City, Iowa 52240. twice monthly/$4 per y
ALAS (nl) 601 Loland, South Bend, Ind. 46616. monthly/$1 per year.
Alliance Link 2140 N. Magnolia, Chicago, Ill. 60614.
Aphra P.O. Box 273, Village Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10014. quarterly/$3.50.
Arena Three bem seahorse, London, WC1, England. monthly/$9.60 per year (surface mail delivery)
Awake & Move (nl) Philadelphia Women's Center, 928 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa. 19107.
Battle Acts YAWF Women, 58 W.25th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010. monthly/$3.50 per year 1st class, $3.00 per year 3rd class.
The Common Woman 2320 Prince St., Berkeley, Ca. 94704.
Digging Stick Boston Women United, 651 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.
Everywoman 10438 W.Washington Blvd., Venice, Ca. 90291. every 3 weeks/$6 for 26 issues, $15 institutional subscription, $25 sustaining subscription.
Female Liberation (j) Box 300, 3rd Floor Eshleman Hall, U. of Cal., Berkeley, Ca. 94720.
The Feminist Press State U. of N.Y./College at Old Westbury, Box 334, Old Westbury, Long Isl. N.Y. 11568.
Feminist Press P.O. 694, Stuyvesant Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10009. $1 per issue.
The Feminist Voice P.O. Box 11144, 227 E.Ontario Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60611. 25c per issue, $3 per year.
F.E.W. News and Views (Federally Employed Women) Suite 487, National Press Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20004. quarterly/$3.
Goodby To All That (np) P.O. Box 3092, San Diego, Ca. 92103. bi-monthly/$5 per year.
Heat (np) 2 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. bi-weekly/$3 for 6 months, $6 per year.
HRW Newsletter (Human Rights for Women) 1128 National Press Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20004. irregularly/free to contributors and to groups, on exchange basis.
It Ain't Me Babe, P.O. Box 6323, Albany, Calif. 94706 $1.80/6 months.

The Ladder (m) P.O. Box 5025, Washington Station, Reno, Nev. 89503. bi-monthly/$7.50 per year.
Lavendar Vision (np) 2 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. irr. Feminist and Lesbian Publ.
Matrix (a) P.O. Box 46067, L.A., Ca. 90046. $1.75 per issue, $2 mailed, $5 for 3 issues, $6.50 for 4 issues.
Mother P.O. Box 8507, Stanford, Ca. 94305.
Mother Lode P.O. Box 40213, S.F., Ca. 94104. irregularly/$1 for 6 issues.
The New Broom (nl) Box 341, Prudential Center Station, Boston, Mass. 02143. monthly/$1 per iss
New Carolina Woman Box 1586, Fayetteville, N.C. 28302. $1 per year.
New Haven Women's Libetation (nl) 3438 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520. monthly/$1.
No More Fun & Games (j) Cell 16, 16 Lesington Ave., Cambridge, Mass. $1 per issue.
Notes on Women's Liberation, News & Letters 1900 E.Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48207. single issue/$1 per copy.
Off Our Backs (j) 1346 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. monthly/$5 per year.
The Opening (j) 1021 Jancy St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206. quarterly/$1 per issue.
Pandora 4224 University Way, N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. 15c each, $1.50 for 4 months (8 iss
Second Coming P.O. Box 8011, U.T. Station, Austin, Tex. 78712. monthly/$1.50 for 6 months, $5 sustaining.
Second Wave P.O. Box 303, Kenmore St. Station, Boston, Mass. 02215.
Siren 950 W.Wrightwood, Chicago, Ill. 60614.
Skirting the Capitol P.O. Box 4569, Sacramento, Ca. 95825. bi-weekly/$15 pef year.
Socialist Woman (m) 182 Pentonville Rd., London, N.1., England. bi-monthly/$1.
SPECTRE P.O. Box 305, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107. $1.50.Written by Revolutionary Separatist White Women.
Third World Women's Alliance (np) 346 W.20th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. monthly/$6 per year.
Through the Looking Glass P.O. Box 1254, Phila., Pa. 19105. $3 for 6 months, $5 per year.
Turn of the Screwed 4213 Wycliff Ave., Dallas, Tx. 75219.

Up From Under 339 Lafayette St., N.Y., N.Y. 10009. quarterly/$3 for 5 issues.
Velvet Glove P.O. Box 188, Livermore, Ca. 94550. 50c each, $3 for 6 issues.
WEAL Word Watcher P.O. Box 30162, Midpoint P.O., Middleburg Heights, Oh. 44130.
Welfare Fighter (np) Nat'l. Welfare Rights Organization, 1419 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. monthly/included with $10 friends membership.
The Woman Activist, An Action Bulletin for Women's Rights, 2310 Barbour Rd., Falls Church, Va. 22043. Rates: Student $2.50, Individual $5.00, Organization $10.00.
Womankind 1131 S. Brook St., Louisville, Ky. 40203. monthly/$3 per year.
The Woman's Journal Valley Women's Center, 200 Main St., Northampton, Mass.
Women's Rights Law Reporter (m) 119 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003. monthly/$12 to individuals, $18 to lawyers, $28 to businesses and institutions, $3 per issue.
Woman's World P.O. Box 696 Stuyvesant Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10009. monthly/$2 for 6 months.
Women: A Journal of Liberation 3028 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21218. quarterly/$4 per y.
Women & Revolution P.O. Box 40463, S.F., Ca. 94140. bi-monthly/10c per issue.
Women in Struggle Box 324, Winneconne, Wis. 54986. bi-monthly/free to Wiscon. residents.
Women West P.O. Box 2335, Toluca Lake Station, N. Hollywood, Ca. 91602. $2.50 for 10 issues.
Women Speaking The Wick, Roundwood Ave., Hutton, Brentwood, Essex, England. $2.80 per year.
Women's Liberation 721 W.16th St., Kansas City, Mo. 64108.
Women's Liberation Newsletter 1027 S.Crenshaw Blvd., L.A., Ca. 90019. $2 per year.
Women's Liberation Newsletter 3800 McBee, Kansas City, Mo. 64111. monthly/$2 per year.

Notes For The Second Year: Women's Liberation, Major Writings of the Radical Feminists, Shulamith Firestone & Anne Koedt, editors, Box AA, Old Chelsea Sta. NYC, N.Y.10011,$1.50
Notes From The Third Year: Same address as above. $1.50, bulk rates available.

SPECIAL PUBLISHING VENTURES OF NOTE

Free Women's Press, 2828 Benvenue Ave., Berkeley, Calif., 94704 (reprints, writing, poetry)
GREYFALCON HOUSE: Posters & Notepaper w/Feminist Art. 60 Riverside Dr -Ste.11D,NYC, NY,10024
The "Herstory Synopsis", a list of women in world history. $1 to Women's History Library/ 2325 Oak St./ Berkeley, Ca. 94708 + .20c postage.
The Joyful World Press, 486 Belvedere Street, San Francisco, Calif., 94117. Contact: Shirley Boccaccio. Feminist children's books, Women's Liberation posters.
KNOW, INC.(The Women's Free Press) P.O. Box 10197, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15232. (Inexpensive reprints, posters, buttons, stickers - - write for list). Female Studies.
Source Book Press (The Source Library of the Women's Movement), Div. of Collectors Editions Ltd., Dept. QA, 185 Madison Ave., NYC 10016. 40 titles
Women's Heritage Series, Inc.,1126 Wipoint St. Los Angeles, Calif. 90035Write for catalogue - all women corporation. Products for women by liberated women.)
Feelings from Women's Liberation #1, 243 Baltic St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201. 1$ each.
The Feminist Press, 5504 Greenspring Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21209 (Biographical pamphlets and books for older children).
Lollipop Power, P.O. Box 1171, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514 (Books for young children).
Women's History Library, 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, Ca. 94708 (Most complete feminist listing...tapes and films. Catalogue available.)
Women's Liberation Information Service, 146 Adelaide Rd., Hesmington Works, England (For all information on the British Movement)

WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS
AAUW, American Association of University Women, 2401 Virginia Ave. N.W., Wash. D.C. 20037.
Association for Children Deprived of Support, c/o Temple U., 8622 Wystone Ave. Northridge, Ca. 91324
Citizen's Advisory Council of Status of Women, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Wash. D.C. 20210 (Newsletter, issued at irregular intervals, single copies free) Exec. Secy: C. East.
FEW: Federally Employed Women (FEW News and Views) Pres. Daisy B. Fields, Suite 487, National Press Bld., Wash. D.C. 20004
HRW: Human Rights for Women, Inc. (Newsletter, irregular intervals) P.O. Box 7402, Benjamin Franklin Station, Wash. D.C. 20044 (litigation and research.)
NARAL: National Association to Repeal Abortion Laws, 250 W. 57th St. NYC.
NOW: National Organization for Women, 1957 E. 73rd St., #106, Chicago, Ill. 60649 (Now Acts - NOW National Magazine, quarterly)
WONAAC: Women's National Abortion Coalition, P.O.Box 685, Old Chelsea, NYC, NY 10011
NWRO: National Welfare Rights Organization, 1419 H St., N.W. Wash. D.C. 20005
PWC: Professional Women's Caucus, P.O. Box 1057, Radio City Station, NYC, NY. 10018

WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE IF WOMEN WIN

BY GLORIA STEINEM
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR, NEW YORK MAGAZINE

Any change is fearful, especially one affecting both politics and sex roles, so let me begin these utopian speculations with a fact. To break the ice.

Women don't want to exchange places with men. Male chauvinists, science-fiction writers and comedians may favor that idea for its shock value, but psychologists say it is a fantasy based on ruling-class ego and guilt. Men assume that women want to imitate them, which is just what white people assumed about blacks. An assumption so strong that it may convince the second-class group of the need to imitate, but for both women and blacks that stage has passed. Guilt produces the question: What if they could treat us as we have treated them?

This is not our goal. But we do want to change the economic system to one more based on merit. In Women's Lib Utopia, there will be free access to good jobs--and decent pay for the bad ones women have been performing all along, including housework. Increased skilled labor might lead to a four-hour work-day, and higher wages would encourage further mechanization of repetitive jobs now kept alive by cheap labor.

With women as half the country's elected representatives, and a woman President once in a while, the country's machismo problems would be greatly reduced. The old-fashioned idea that manhood depends on violence and victory is, after all, an important part of our troubles in the streets, and in Viet Nam. I'm not saying that women leaders would eliminate violence. We are not more moral than men; we are only uncorrupted by power so far. When we do acquire power, we might turn out to have an equal impulse toward aggression. Even now, Margaret Mead believes that women fight less often but more fiercely than men, because women are not taught the rules of the war game and fight only when cornered. But for the next 50 years or so, women in politics will be very valuable by tempering the idea of manhood into something less aggressive and better suited to this crowded, post-atomic planet. Consumer protection and children's rights, for instance, might get more legislative attention.

. . . . . .

If role reform sounds sexually unsettling, think how it will change the sexual hypocrisy we have now. No more sex arranged on the barter system, with women pretending interest, and men never sure whether they are loved for themselves or for the security few women can get any other way. (Married or not, for sexual reasons or social ones, most women still find it second nature to Uncle-Tom.) No more men who are encouraged to spend a lifetime living with inferiors; with housekeepers, or dependent creatures who are still children. No more domineering wives, emasculating women, and "Jewish mothers," all of whom are simply human beings with all their normal ambition and drive confined to the home. No more unequal partnerships that eventually doom love and sex.

. . . . . .

As for the American child's classic problem--too much mother, too little father--that would be cured by an equalization of parental responsibility. Free nurseries, school lunches, family cafeterias built into every housing complex, service companies that will do household cleaning chores in a regular, businesslike way, and more responsibility by the entire community for the children: all these will make it possible for both mother and father to work, and to have equal leisure time with the children at home. For parents of very young children, however, a special job category, created by Government and unions, would allow such parents a shorter work day.

The revolution would not take away the option of being a housewife. A woman who prefers to be her husband's housekeeper and/or hostess would receive a percentage of his pay determined by the domestic relations courts. If divorced, she might be eligible for a pension fund, and for a job-training allowance. Or a divorce could be treated the same way that the dissolution of a business partnership is now.

. . . . . .

Men and women are, after all, physically complementary. When society stops encouraging men to be exploiters and women to be parasites, they may turn out to be more complementary in emotion as well. Women's Lib is not trying to destroy the American family. A look at the statistics on divorce--plus the way in which old people are farmed out with strangers and young people flee the home--shows the destruction that has already been done. Liberated women are just trying to point out the disaster, and build compassionate and practical alternatives from the ruins.

What will exist is a variety of alternative life-styles. Since the population explosion dictates that childbearing be kept to a minimum, parents-and-children will be only one of many "families": couples, age groups, working groups, mixed communes, blood-related clans, class groups, creative groups. Single women will have the right to stay single without ridicule, without the attitudes now betrayed by "spinster" and "bachelor." Lesbians or homosexuals will no longer be denied legally binding marriages, complete with mutual-support agreements and inheritance rights. Paradoxically, the number of homosexuals may get smaller. With fewer overpossessive mothers and fewer fathers who hold up an impossibly cruel or perfectionist idea of manhood, boys will be less likely to be denied or reject their identity as males.

Changes that now seem small may get bigger:
MEN'S LIB. Men now suffer from more diseases due to stress, heart attacks, ulcers, a higher suicide rate, greater difficulty living alone, less adaptability to change and, in general, a shorter life span than women. There is some scientific evidence that what produces physical problems is not work itself, but the inability to choose which work, and how much. With women bearing half the financial responsibility, and with the idea of "masculine" jobs gone, men might well feel freer and live longer. . . .

RELIGION. Protestant women are already becoming ordained ministers; . . .

LITERARY PROBLEMS. Revised sex roles will outdate more children's books than civil rights ever did. . . .

MANNERS AND FASHION. Dress will be more androgynous, . . .

In other words, the most radical goal of the movement is egalitarianism. If Women's Lib wins, perhaps we all do. --"Time Essay," TIME, August 31, 1970

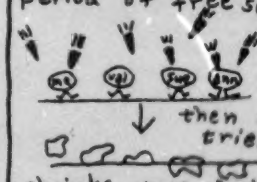
PREVIEWS, Cont'd

Women and Men

When we were little, this was how we thought about marriage

safe inside final

Later we had a period of free sex.



then we tried:

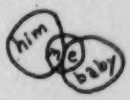
shrinks, yoga, clothes, politics, poetry, drinking diets, bitterness, bitterness, revenge

By the time we settled down with one man we had learned that a woman has to do her own thing as well. Our ideas and lives varied, but in general it felt like this

Sometimes we noticed this beginning to happen: working to put him thru school...

his friends.. housework intellectual proof a good SLAP honey baby

Sometimes we had babies to reassert ourselves:



but really:

When people talked about "smashing monogamy," we remembered the period "free sex" and got scared. When we tried to put it into practice it usually worked out like this:

big deal

A man described what it might look like after monogamy was smashed:

just floatin' around

I thought it was scary but didn't say so because I didn't want to sound like the clinging type.

At some point we all brought whatever we had to a women's collective. The first meeting was like this:

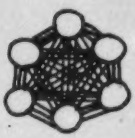
We had a hard time but a lot of things happened.

While I was tripping once I thought about us being together and separate sort of like this:

looks thoughts experiences work sex laughs trips climbing mountains etc, etc.

(but the picture is too static because really the image was vibrating back and forth)

I feel like we're moving toward this:



But we're not there yet.

nine panels excluded here

on the further problems of arriving at the ideal state

--adapted from Leviathan, printed in The South End Oct. 20, 1970.

There's a lot of pain, risk, and fear in the changes we want - if you think there's not, you don't understand yet.

The best hope for our relationships with men is for us to keep this in mind:

That means we love each other by choice this time.

PREVIEWS, Cont'd

reviews

Ed. Note--All of the quotations in this section are taken from book reviews (I count Mailer's PRISONER OF SEX as an extended review of the books criticizing him). In order to keep some sense of unity, I have, whenever possible and relevant, excerpted paragraphs dealing with the themes threading through this volume--on stereotypes, myths, woman's madness (double meaning intended), and black/female parallels. The "Daisy Chain" linking Ellmann to Mailer to Millett to Howe to Brophy to Vidal needs no comment except that additional links appear in a later section, under "Déjà Vus."--BC

JANEWAY ON O'NEILL:
on myth and history

"...For most of history and for most historians, they (women) are not only anonymous as individuals, they don't even exist as a group. Ants in the ant heap, their separate identity is not only unimagined but largely unimaginable....
...in the annals of their own people, women have--or have had--no history. Lacking it, they have been wreathed in myth, the myth of their special place in man's world, their special attributes and failings, their special abilities and the special dangers they pose.

The trouble with myth is not that it is false, but that it is partly true; true, that is, to what we want to believe. If it didn't embody desires and satisfy needs, we could get rid of it much more easily. But when rational argument manages to clear away untenable foundations, there is no sure guarantee that the myth they supported will die. Sexual discrimination and racial discrimination have both been sustained, over the last century, first on the basis of biblical revelation (God's curse on Eve, God's curse on Ham), then on the evidence of 'psychological' tenets and tests whose assumptions came straight out of the realm of unprovable fixed ideas, and now on the 'researches' of neo-Lamarckian ethologists. Give us the facts, they cry (baboons hunt in groups, men join political clubs), and never mind the logic that gets us from the one to the other.

Whatever the authority for discrimination, the effect is the same: some people are different not just because of social pressures or training or clever individual adaptation to patterns of life, but irredeemably, by the will of God or of Science. When these fountainheads of wisdom say 'humanity' they are, however, referring less to fact than to some general concept of the norm. Oddly enough, the norm consistently turns out to be exemplified by white heterosexual males, with the corollary that anyone else is abnormal and had better go away quietly and cease to make trouble by disrupting the hypotheses. Thus, the myth (which always speaks in the imperative mood)....
Books like William O'Neill's, therefore, are valuable not only in themselves, but because they bring women into history and out of the region of myth...."
--Elizabeth Janeway, Review of William O'Neill, EVERYONE WAS BRAVE: THE RISE AND FALL OF FEMINISM IN AMERICA, Saturday Review, Oct. 11, 1969.

CAPOUYA ON HAYS:
on the myth of feminine evil

"...it is clear that even in enlightened America women labor under a kind of settled disapproval. It is not merely that they do not get equal pay for equal work. They do not get equal consideration for equal intelligence, energy, ambition, candor, or good will. It is almost as if mankind deliberately set out to lower the human potential by discounting the virtues and abilities of half of humanity. How are we to explain our 'peculiar institution,' by means of which not one race merely, but half of nearly every race and every social class is kept in psychological subjection?

Mr. H.R. Hays has recourse to a myth in his attempt to understand this really astonishing state of affairs.

Briefly, he attributes to the male in all ages and cultures a basic insecurity about his sexual function. Mr. Hays thinks that male uncertainty is translated into hostility and, eventually, social sanctions directed against women. In the last analysis, he suggests, the anti-feminine order is enforced by superior physical strength. And if we are inclined to quarrel with his premises, he marshals in their support a horrendous catalogue of beliefs and attitudes: the widespread legend of the vagina dentata, the taboos in all societies surrounding menstruation, the anti-female emphasis frequently expressed in male puberty rites, accusations of witchcraft (witches are most often female), ecclesiastical attitudes toward women as vessels of sin or things of nought (cf. the Jewish prayer, 'My God, I thank Thee for not having made me a woman'), legends of vampirism and the vampire theme in formal literature, the concept of the femme fatale, and that commonplace of cocktail-party conversation of which we should be thoroughly ashamed but aren't, the notion of the 'castrating woman.' Chapter after dispiriting chapter enlarges on the grotesque imaginings--mostly concurred in by the victims--that present women in all eras and all societies as the dangerous sex...."

--Emile Capouya, Review of H.R. Hays, THE DANGEROUS SEX: THE MYTH OF FEMININE EVIL, Saturday Review.

EPTON ON HUNT:
on the myth of American matriarchy

"...It is not as if woman-power were being exercised at home either. Mr. Hunt debunks once and for all the popular myth of an American matriarchy and brings evidence to show that the balance of power at home is in the husband's favor. The truest specimen of matriarch in America today, he writes, 'is the employed, laboring-class urban Negro wife.' Upper-class women have less control over family decisions than low-status women.

By the way, I wish Mr. Hunt had told us more about the American man who skulks in the background of his book as elusively as Adam, that telltale meanie who refused to take responsibility and put all the blame on Eve. What is the American husband, lover, father, colleague like and how far is he to be blamed for modern woman's sense of loss? Is it true, as is often alleged, that he leaves her alone and is hardly ever at home, too intent on pursuing the material mirage of success ? The story is not complete without an analysis of him...."

--Nina Epton, Review of Morton M. Hunt, HER INFINITE VARIETY, N.Y. Times Book Review, Sept. 30, 1962.

MANNES ON MERRIAM: on
stereotypes, black/female parallels

"...Eve Merriam asks what keeps our American Noras from finding their place in our world. It should surprise none but the blind of heart that many of her answers could apply as well to another--and now more crucial--revolution, that of the American Negro. Both Woman and Negro have been limited in their development as full members of the human race less by their physical characteristics than by the image of them created for centuries in the minds of their social and economic masters. Only by sustaining it could both Man and White retain their superiority;.to the detriment, Mrs. Merriam makes clear, of society as a whole.

In her chapter The Myth of the Natural Woman,' she repeats parts of the generalized 'admass' litany: 'Women feel guilty when they work. (They are neglecting their homes and children.)' 'Women feel guilty when they don't work. (They are not contributing to society.)' 'They are emasculating their husbands. (Making them help with housework and child care.)' With a scathing flourish in prose and in poems, Mrs. Merriam shreds these and other attitudes, including the Matriarchal Myth, the Myth of the Total Housewife (and Total Mother), the tag of the Aggressive-Frustrated-Career-Woman (although she offers good reasons for her existence), the Myth of Momism, and the myth of equality achieved....

--Marya Mannes, Review of Eve Merriam, AFTER NORA SLAMMED THE DOOR--AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE 1960's: THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, Saturday Review, July 11, 1964.

LILLIAN SMITH ON FRIEDAN:
on madness and a woman's mind

"...Once highly trained, a mind is likely to go mad if it is forbidden to function. Madness is a strong word but women rigidly constricted in the use of their intelligence are suffering and in turn are causing their children and husbands to suffer in a serious and dangerous way.

I did not find one dull chapter in the book; but the one--nicely documented--that describes the new half Lolita-half broodmare image of woman as built up by the image-makers on Madison Avenue and in editorial councils of big-circulation magazines is the weirdest. Weird because it makes horrible sense. The motivation behind the image-making, Mrs. Friedan suggests, is to find ways to sell more things so advertisers will spend more and more millions and industries will produce more and more useless gadgets nobody wants. The idea is this: educate the girls; wake up their minds; then convince them they should go back to the doll's house because sex is fun now and having babies is a charming 'role' to play...."

--Lillian Smith, Review of Betty Friedan, THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE, Saturday Review, Feb. 23, 1963.

LEONARD WOOLF ON VIRGINIA WOOLF:
on madness and a woman's mind

"On a Swedish holiday in 1911, Leonard Woolf was confronted on a remote beach by a naked Swede, who asked, 'Can you divorce your wife in England if she is insane?' Woolf was used to having the Swedes ask many questions, but this one plainly never crossed his mind. In this third volume of his memoirs, '1911 to 1918,' Woolf discusses his wife Virginia's sporadic lunacy with candor and total tenderness. He was never afraid of Virginia Woolf, nor is he now of her memory, but seems, rather, to be still almost boyishly in love with her.... She had 'an almost pathological hypersensitivity to criticism, so that she suffered an ever increasingly agonizing nervous apprehension as she got nearer to the end of her book and the throwing of it and herself to the critics.' As the publication date approached, nervous apprehension became plain madness. She raved. She heard voices. She might literally have starved herself to death had Woolf not been with her at the time....The volume ends in 1918, with Virginia's major creative time yet to come. The Woolfs had more than 20 years together before the day in 1941 when Virginia walked into the river Ouse and let herself drown...."

--Time, Sept. 18, 1964.

TEN LINKS IN THE DAISY CHAIN

ELLMANN ON KRADITOR: "The Law of Latching On" (black/female)

...the necessity always to attach Women to other causes is disconcerting. Their hold on the private imagination seems to preclude their having any real place in the public mind. Feminism demonstrates, perhaps only for itself, the social Law of Latching On. When men were religious, the women's arguments had to be religious. When men were keen on science, the women cited Darwin. When "foreigners" (foreign-born citizens) entered politics, WASP women offered to out-vote them. But, in fact, it was post-war disgust with the entire past which incidentally yielded the vote to American women in 1920, to Frenchwomen only in 1944.

The most persistent attachment, however, has been to the Negro. The rights of slaves and women were inseparable ideals before the Civil War, and the South was indefatigably jealous of both properties. Oberlin was the first men's college to admit women--and Negroes, at the same time. Even under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the word sex having barely squidged in beside race, most cases brought to court have involved discrimination against black women. And the still drastic need for communal child care in this country begins to be met among the black poor. I daresay Huey Newton could not care less for white female troubles, and the first militant outrage is always the deprivation of masculine blackness. Nonetheless, the outs seem to come in together, when they come in at all.

--Mary Ellman, Review of Aileen S. Kraditor, Ed., UP FROM THE PEDESTAL, New Republic.

HENTOFF ON ELLMANN AND BIRD: on stereotypes

...Acquiescence in one's oppression is the mark of oppression. One of the quandaries of early feminism was that if it were acknowledged that women had been impaired by subjugation, how could equal rights be demanded for an inferior caste? If, however, women had not been damaged, what the hell was wrong with the system? In any case, thinking about women is disheartening. ...The issue should be done with by now. It is a bore. Yet, Caroline Bird's BORN FEMALE, which is useful for its documentation of discrimination against women, tells us with facts and statistics what we all already know: women today do not have political, economic, and social rights equal to men...

THINKING ABOUT WOMEN is the twist of the knife; a witty, rueful essay by Mary Ellmann on attitudes toward women --literary and other. Norman Mailer is much in evidence, as is fitting for America's pre-eminent male colonialist. ...Mrs. Ellmann is sharp and funny in the sections on sexual analogy (the ovum has a lonely existential journey while the sperm travels like a mass of jostling commuters), phallic criticism and feminine stereotypes. Her writing is mordant and dry--perhaps to avoid embodying what she sees as a fundamental male concept of females: that they are wet. They are also shrill, hysterical, formless, irrational, and deciduous. Soft, too. One cannot argue with her statement that "The male body lends credence to assertions, while the female takes it away." In this context, only imagine Johnson, Nixon or Humphrey as women. Who would have put up with any of them for an instant?

--Margot Hentoff, Review of Caroline Bird, BORN FEMALE, and Mary Ellmann, THINKING ABOUT WOMEN, New York Review, Jan. 16, 1969.

HEILBRUN ON ELLMANN AND MAILER: "from the ancient Talmudic tradition"

...But, as Mrs. Ellmann points out, Mr. Mailer is only the echo of a loud, prophetic voice reaching us, it would seem, all the way from the ancient Talmudic tradition. One is tempted, ironically, to blame the Jews for the only crime of which they are guilty, and for which they have not suffered: the profound debasement of women.

How much Freud's Jewishness had to do with his oddly conventional thinking about women is problematic; what is not problematic is how greatly women have suffered because so creative and influential a thinker should have followed convention so slavishly in this matter. Mrs. Ellmann quotes from his letters to his fiancee, which have all the air of the Friday night blessing and women worshipping in the balcony. So far as I know, only David Riesman, Philip Rieff and Stanley Edgar Hyman have perceived both Freud's absolute greatness and his terrible falling-off at this point. Freud's reference to little girls as "mutilated creatures," whom little boys view "with horror and triumphant contempt," does seem to prepare the ground for Mr. Mailer.

--Carolyn G. Heilbrun, Review of Mary Ellmann, THINKING ABOUT WOMEN, New York Times Book Review, Nov. 17, 1968.

ELLMANN ON MAILER: in 1968, yet

A distaste for books before they are read is not uncommon, as in Norman Mailer's unsolicited confession of not having been able to read Virginia Woolf, or in Anthony Burgess's inhibitory "impression of high-waisted dresses and genteel parsonage flirtation" in Jane Austen's novels.

--Mary Ellmann, Review of Norman Mailer, PRISONER OF SEX, New York Times Book Review, Nov. 17, 1968.

MAILER ON ELLMANN: caught in the act; March, 1971

...Months later, perhaps a half-year later, a book arrived, one of the half-dozen that week. (He was forever receiving books or bound sets of galleys with the cool or fervent hopes of the editor enclosed--sometimes he thought it would be easier for young authors to make a fortune by playing the

numbers than waiting for an established author to bless a book which came unsolicited in the mail.)
...a letter...informed him that THINKING ABOUT WOMEN, by Mary Ellmann, had more references to his own name in the index than any other writer--could he comment? Pleased at this evidence that the wave was once again on the way, and he was the name of that wave, he discovered instead that the references were pinpricks, bitchy pinpricks, caustic pinpricks, aloof--one hardly felt the point--and disdainful pinpricks, on occasion pricks which were conceivably unfair. Forty such pricks. He did not read them all--after ten, he gave up the thought of finding mercy in Mrs. Ellmann's club. The book was dismissed. ...he closed the book without embarking on it, closed her book with the firm prejudice that if she could not be fair to him, she could not be fair to her theme; yet closed it with sour regret, since the lady wrote well....
--Norman Mailer, PRISONER OF SEX, on Mary Ellmann, THINKING ABOUT WOMEN, Harper's, March 1971.

MAILER ON MILLETT: "an honor student in some occult school of thuggee?"

By any major literary perspective, the land of Millett is a barren and mediocre terrain, its flora reminiscent of a Ph.D. tract, its roads a narrow argument, and its horizon low.... her land was a foul and dreary place to cross, a stingy country whose treacherous inhabitants (were they the very verbs and phrases of her book?) jeered at difficulties which were often the heart of the matter, the food served at every inn was a can of ideological lard, a grit and granite of thesis-factories turned out aggregates of concept jargon on every ridge, stacks of such clauses fed the sky with smoke, and musical instruments full of the spirit of intellectual flatulence ran in the river, and the bloody ground steamed with the corpse of every amputated quote....
Can she be an honor student in some occult school of thuggee (now open to the ladies via the pressures of Women's Liberation)? It is possible. For Kate is the perfect gun. It is as if she does not know why she kills, just senses that here the job is ready to be done, and there the job must be done.
--Norman Mailer, PRISONER OF SEX, on Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS, Harper's, March 1971.

HOWE ON MILLETT:
"what seems to trouble Miss Millett..."

...SEXUAL POLITICS: there are times when one feels the book was written by a female impersonator.
For what seems to trouble Miss Millett isn't merely the injustices women have suffered or the discriminations to which they continue to be subject. What troubles her perhaps most of all--so one is inclined to say after immersing oneself in her book--is the sheer existence of women. Miss Millett dislikes the psycho-biological distinctiveness of women, and she will go no further than to recognize--what choice is there, alas?--the inescapable differences of anatomy. She hates the perverse refusal of most women to recognize the magnitude of their humiliation, the shameful dependence they show in regard to (not very independent) men, the maddening pleasures they even take in cooking dinners for "the master group" and wiping the noses of their snotty brats. Raging against the notion that such roles and attitudes are biologically determined, since the very thought of the biological seems to her a way of forever reducing women to subordinate status, she nevertheless attributes to "culture" so staggering a range of customs, outrages, and evils that this "culture" comes to seem a force more immovable and ominous than biology itself.
Miss Millett lashes out against the Freudians not merely because some of them indulge in male chauvinism, but because they persist in seeing, within the common fate of humanity, a distinctive nature and role for women....
--Irving Howe, Review of Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS, Harper's, Dec., 1970.

HARDY ON MILLETT:
did she read the same book?

Kate Millett's book on "sexual politics" is...a rare achievement. Its measure of detachment is earned by learning, reason and love, its measure of involvement is frankly set out. It is a piece of passionate thinking on a life-and-death aspect of our public and private lives....

If Genet is the Wise Fool in this drama, Ruskin and Freud are simpler clowns. Ruskin provides a comic modern image of chivalric compensation and swindling. Freud is admired for his work on the unconscious and on infantile sexuality, but seen as ironically basing observations about female character on pathological cases, social victims. The ghost of penis-envy is finally laid, beautifully and good-temperedly, and the author refrains from too many laughs at penis-pride; when she occasionally succumbs, she is not strident or complacent. The book's humor is part of its tenderness and warmth, and in striking contrast, I thought, to the chill humorlessness of those other two great feminists, Simone de Beauvoir and Doris Lessing....

SEXUAL POLITICS is a remarkable document because it analyzes the need and nature of sexual liberation while itself displaying the virtues of intellectual and emotional openness and lovingness.

--Barbara Hardy, Review of Kate Millett, SEXUAL POLITICS, New York Times Book Review, Sept. 6, 1970.

BROPHY ON MAILER ON MILLETT AND VIDAL:
unfit for the New York Times

SEXUAL POLITICS, described by its author, Kate Millett as a "hybrid" (of "literary and cultural criticism"), was an ugly monster. It presented an incontestable truth, that society is unjust to women, by means of an argument that did unjustice to both sexes and almost every pertinent fact.

No knight has adventured out to restore justice and reason. All that's happened is that a minor victim of the book's injustice has issued a rejoinder. This consists of an appreciative meditation by Norman Mailer on Norman Mailer. It establishes merely that if Kate Millett could put him down with bad logic and bad prose he can puff himself up with more and worse of both. ...You can't count as comedy Mr. Mailer's aside to the effect that the need for quotable remarks is "served best by writers with names like Gore Vidal." The observation is of course true, but Mr. Mailer makes it in a tone of voice which holds no promise that he will enliven his own essay by quoting Gore Vidal, so to his readers it rings more like tragic doom.

Not that Mr. Mailer scorns to fill out his text with quotations from sources less well turned. When his drool texture thins he puts in chunks from books and articles on Women's Lib. This scrapbook exercise he quaintly describes as a job "no journalist could have done," work "which called for a novelist, or a critical approach."

When, however, his snippets call stridently for a critical approach, Mr. Mailer runs away and takes refuge in (actually) modesty. He quotes two remarks of Germaine Greer's, beginning, "The worst name anyone can be called is [a four-letter Anglo-Saxon word for the female genitalia, which The New York Times does not think fit to print]", and "Women still buy sanitary towels with enormous discretion." Humbly, Mr. Mailer comments he has much to learn. However, the truth that women are more socially-handicapped than men is not promoted by pretending they are the only people to be handicapped at all. Why didn't Mr. Mailer say that "[a five-letter slang word for the male organ, which The Times does not think fit to print]" is no more complimentary a name than "[the four-letter Anglo-Saxon, etc.]," that wet dreams are no more acceptable a subject for suburban chat than menstruation, and that few men yet buy rupture appliances with enormous indiscretion?

--Brigid Brophy, Review of Norman Mailer, THE PRISONER OF SEX, New York Times Book Review, May 23, 1971.

VIDAL ON MAILER and HOWE and MILLETT, FRIEDAN, ET. AL.: Enter M3--a new character in the cast of stereotypes

...The response to SEXUAL POLITICS, FEMININE MYSTIQUE, et. al. has been as interesting as anything that has happened in our time with the possible exception of Richard Nixon's political career. The hatred these girls have inspired is to me convincing proof that their central argument is valid. Men do hate women (or as Germaine Greer puts it: "Women have very little idea of how much men hate them") and dream of torture, murder, flight.

It is no accident that in the United States the phrase "sex and violence" is used as one word to describe acts of equal wickedness, equal fun, equal danger to that law and order our masters would impose upon us. Yet equating sex with violence does change the nature of each (words govern us more than anatomy), and it is quite plain that those who fear what they call permissiveness do so because they know that if sex is truly freed of taboo it will lead to torture and murder because that is what they dream of or, as Norman Mailer puts it, "Murder offers us the promise of vast relief. It is never unsexual."

There has been from Henry Miller to Norman Mailer to Charles Manson a logical progression. The Miller-Mailer-Manson man (or M3 for short) has been conditioned to think of women as, at best, breeders of sons; at worst, objects to be poked, humiliated, killed. Needless to say, M3's reaction to Women's Liberation has been one of panic. He believes that if women are allowed parity with men they will treat men the way men have treated women and that, even M3 will agree, has not been very well or, as Cato the Censor observed, if woman be made man's equal she will swiftly become his master...

The women are responding with a series of books and position papers that range from shrill to literature. In the last category one must place Eva Figes who, of the lot, is the only one whose work can be set beside John Stuart Mill's celebrated review of the subject and not seem shoddy or self-serving.

In effect, the girls are all writing the same book. Each does a quick biological tour of the human body, takes on Moses and St. Paul, congratulates Mill, savages Freud (that mistake about vaginal orgasm has cost him glory), sighs over Marx, roughs up M3, and concludes with pleas for child-care centers, free abortions, equal pay, and--in most cases--an end to marriage. These things seem to be well worth accomplishing. And even M3 is now saying that of course women should be paid the same as men for the same work. On that point alone Women's Lib has already won an important battle because, until recently, M3 was damned if a woman was going to be paid as much as he for the same job.

...The two principal spokesmen for M3 to weigh-in so far are Norman Mailer and Irving Howe. Mailer's answer to Millett ("The Prisoner of Sex" in Harper's) gave the impression of being rather longer than her book SEXUAL POLITICS. Part of this is due to a style which now resembles H.P. Lovecraft rather more than the interesting, modest Mailer of better days. Or as Emma Cockburn (excellent name for a Women's Libber) pointed out, Mailer's thoughts on sex read like three days of menstrual flow....

Irving Howe's tone is apoplectic. He knows what the relations between men and women ought to be and no Millett is going to change his mind or pervert other women if he can do anything about it...

Anyway, Howe was aroused enough to address to her a series of ad hominem (ad hysteram?) insults that are startling even by the vicious and mindless standards of New York book-chat writing. Millett is "squalid," "feckless," "morally shameful," a failed scholar, a female impersonator, and so on.... Howe ends with a celebration of the values of his immigrant parents in the Depression years. Apparently his mother was no more a drudge than his father (but why in a good society should either be a drudge?), and they were happy in the old-time Mosaic, St. Pauline, Freudian way, and...well, this hymn to tribal values was rather better sung by the judge in the movie version of Little Murders.

--Gore Vidal, Review of Eva Figes, PATRIARCHAL ATTITUDES, The New York Review of Books, July 22, 1971.

Overviews

[The next three articles--or rather, excerpts of articles, all three having been shortened for purposes of publication here--are grouped together as "overviews" since all three use the survey method in one way or another. The first is a survey of the role of women in American best-sellers from 1914-1945, by Suzanne Ellery of Morgan State College. The second is a revealing survey of the way American history textbooks have treated women; it is co-authored by Earl Robert Schmidt of California State College and Dolores Barracano Schmidt of Slippery Rock College. The third, by Alma Payne of Bowling Green State University, surveys the range of issues in articles about women appearing in a single important magazine at the turn of the century, Benjamin O. Flower's irrepressible ARENA. --BC]

WOMEN IN AMERICAN BEST SELLING NOVELS 1914-1945
BY SUZANNE C. ELLERY

. . . Prominent women throughout history have been studied and written about but these studies do not necessarily tell much about the position or role of non-prominent women. Often such outstanding figures have had to rebel in one or more ways against the typical and the accepted, and so their lives do not reflect the more general status of women at any given time.

Furthermore, most analyses of the role of women and writing about outstanding women has been done by people who, as analysts, are not immersed completely in the values of their time. These works also tend to be read and discussed by students of the culture and not the "ordinary" women.

Finding a method that can show how society in general and women in general have viewed the place of women in America is thus a challenge. One vehicle which reflects popular attitudes and values is the best seller. Best selling novels can be used to indicate how perception of the role of women changed over a period of time, specifically during the years before American participation in World War I to the conclusion of World War II. This particular period was selected because the World War II years seem to mark the beginning of the emergence of the "modern" woman.

The one hundred forty-five American best selling novels which were published from 1914 to 1945 will be used as the tool for analyzing changes in the role of and the popular perception of women. The novels will be utilized as a reflection of popular attitudes. Studies have been done which show that people know the general nature of a book before they read it and that they tend to choose for leisure reading those books in which the value systems are ones in which they feel comfortable. The reading public includes, of course, both men and women. This fact does not seem to bear on the analysis made because, except in times of widespread rebellion, men and women have generally agreed on the socially accepted definition of their roles. Moderate variations have always been acceptable within the general value system.

The list of novels comes from Frank Luther Mott's study of best sellers, GOLDEN MULTITUDES. Studies of reading habits during the years under consideration indicate that the largest part of the reading public lived in urban areas of the Northeastern, Northern Middle Western, and Far Western parts of the United States. The great majority of these readers had high school educations at least and were members of the middle and upper classes. The novels thus will be used as a reflection of the changes in attitudes of their readers, in this case, the American urban middle and upper classes, a very powerful and prominent group within American society.

OVERVIEWS: Ellery, Cont'd

The novels used in this study break up into five major groups, with each group representing a major change in attitudes expressed. The first group consists of the novels written from 1914 to 1916, the second of those written from 1918 to 1928. The third period covers the years of the Depression 1929 to 1937, and the fourth 1938 to 1945. Mystery stories are treated as a separate group because the values expressed in them are more consistent with each other than with the value changes found through the years.

The novels which come out in the years preceding American participation in World War I show a world view that disappeared forever in 1917. For the characters in the novels of 1914 to 1916, the world was personal, narrow, and fragmented. A naive division between good and bad and an unwillingness or inability to see problems in a broader than personal context mark the readers of popular novels as comparatively childlike. The novels contain little theoretical thought or meaningful action in a wider than personal or local realm. Leading characters are predominantly white Protestant middle class and all others are mere stereotypes.

Family life and personal relationships, particularly pre-marital courtship, predominate the plot structure. In this period, of all the possible happy endings to stories, family reconciliations and family beginnings (marriages) are the most popular.

Pre-marital love relationships are particularly emphasized. The novels thus show very little even of the functioning of the traditional wife who runs a household and gives emotional strength to her husband and children. More typical are baby-talking Miss Lola Pratt in Booth Tarkington's SEVENTEEN who induces Willie Baxter to develop a crush on her and Kitty Reid in Harold Bell Wright's WHEN A MAN'S A MAN who finally decides to marry the most he-man-type male in the book. Neither have well-drawn individual characters.

The only variety in the presentation of women's lives lies in whether it is considered permissible for them to work or whether they must be restricted to their own household. In four of the twelve books, young women do work in several of the early women's professions such as teaching and nursing, but these forays into the outside world are limited to unmarried women. Lower class women appear frequently as maids, but they belong to another world even less individualized than that of the stereotyped middle and upper class women.

Not only are women portrayed in a stereotyped fashion, but they also tend to play a secondary position in this group of novels. In eleven of the books, men play the central part with women in the supporting role. The exception is Pollyanna who is the leading character but nevertheless very sheltered.

Women do not fit the definition of weak. Rather they are pure and to be honored as women in their sheltered position but, notably, the men who honor them do so as men, also not as fully portrayed individuals. Men's lives and activities are, however, much more varied.

The twenty-nine novels of the post-war decade, 1918 to 1928, show a marked change in the position of women as well as in their general world outlook.

The value of the individual's life dominates all other considerations in this group of novels. Individuals search alone to find what is meaningful. The novels interweave two basic strands of thought on individualism. Sinclair Lewis's books represent the minority which criticize forced conformity and show how it injures the individual. More typical of the novels is a simple lack of any requirement to conform. Variety and the corresponding freedom of action are accepted. This freedom is often exercised in the search for emotional and experiential value in life. It is important to note that this meaningfulness comes in terms of individual emotion not yet in any broader

social achievement. Drab living and stereotyping thus are rejected for all the individuals who were stereotyped previously: ethnic minorities, the lower class, and women.

The female characters in this group of novels provide a wide variety of life styles. Generally their maturity and worldliness separate them from the pre-war women. Furthermore, men no longer make up such a large proportion of the central characters. Men are central in thirteen of the twenty-nine books, women in eight. In the remaining novels they have equally important roles. Neither sex exercises a great degree of dominance over the other. Furthermore, their roles are no longer so clearly differentiated. Although ten of the novels still treat women purely as home-bodies, generally women hold jobs or have other activities outside the house.

A few examples illustrate the variety. In THE SHEIK by Edith M. Hull, Diana Mayo runs off on an African safari. In Sinclair Lewis's ELMER GANTRY, Sharon Falconer is an evangelist and is also evil. In SO BIG by Edna Ferber, Selina Peake successfully runs a farm.

Along with considerably increased freedom to move about the world, women now exercise a large degree of sexual freedom, something previously unmentioned. Love and sex, always linked for women, occur as much at the women's initiative as at that of the men.

Even marriage is no longer sacred. In SORRELL AND SON by Warwick Deepling, Sorrell's wife leaves him while he is a soldier to run off with a richer man. She is condemned for her cruelty. But divorcee Ellen Olenska in Edith Wharton's THE AGE OF INNOCENCE is not condemned. Nor is married Newland Archer criticized for his love of Ellen. Marise Crittenden in THE BRIMMING CUP by Dorothy Canfield makes a positive choice to continue her marriage believing it will give her the most happiness, but Carol Kennicott in Sinclair Lewis's MAIN STREET slips back into hers which promises no more than a hope of vague contentment. Although heroine Alix Vervier in THE LITTLE FRENCH GIRL by Anne Douglas Sedgwick is destined for marriage, her mother, who is divorced and has affairs, is shown to be a marvelous woman. A contrast is made between Mme. Vervier and the English Mrs. Bradley, whom Alix feels has never been happy because she has always loved more than she received love. A Frenchman explains Mme. Vervier's reward: "Mme. Vervier is adored as well as respected."[1] The implication is that wives are not usually adored.

One of the most independent women in the novels of the twenties is portrayed in John Erskine's THE PRIVATE LIFE OF HELEN OF TROY. This analyzes and satirizes middle class values in the setting of ancient Troy. Helen deals most daringly with the problems faced by many of the women in the books of this period. Helen ran off with Paris and has been brought back by her husband Menelaos. This was not her first or last affair. Menelaos realizes that Helen has always craved a lover who was her equal, and he does not punish her for her infidelity because he knows that he has failed to be this man. Through all sorts of what would generally be considered scandalous events, there is a running debate between Helen, who feels that the individual must prevail and that the great reward in life is great passion, and her opponents who put society and social convention first. Helen is the one who is kind and who refuses to judge people. She helps when others condemn or gossip. Helen's morality prevails in this book.

Thus, infidelity, by women as well as men, and divorce are accepted in a large number of the novels of the twenties. Although some of them still assert the absolute sanctity of marriage and a subservient place for women, the number that do not make it clear that large numbers of readers were no longer hostile to the more liberal views. It should be emphasized that most of the freedom asserted by women characters in these novels is emotional and

sexual. A few like Diana Mayo in THE SHEIK and the blonde in Anita Loos's GENTLEMEN PREFER BLONDES are simply seeking after a good time. Women generally do not try to enter the professional world of men, although the few who do succeed. To put this into proper perspective, it should be pointed out that this whole group of novels, like the earlier ones, emphasize personal and emotional concerns, not those of professionalism or wider issues such as politics or social reform.

The novels of the Depression years, 1929 through 1937, show a marked return to stereotyping of all sorts, of classes and ethnic groups as well as of women. In the face of the Depression, or possibly in response to the innovations of the twenties, the novels show a strong seeking after reassurance and rest. The characters seem to have tired of questions and rebellions. Also, somehow, their worlds have once again grown narrower, although not as much so as before World War I.

Men have regained their position of dominance. In thirteen of the fourteen books of this group they hold both the central role and they dominate the female characters. In the fourteenth, GONE WITH THE WIND by Margaret Mitchell, Scarlett O'Hara should probably be considered central and Rhett Butler dominant. The women in the novels of the thirties, generally, although not always, love submissively. It is interesting that the primary gain in strength by female characters occurred during a decade of prosperity and immediately following a period when men functioned as warriors. Men regained their strength in the best selling novels in a period when there was no war and when economic depression made many of them less powerful breadwinners.

During the Depression, only two novels, CIMARRON by Edna Ferber and GONE WITH THE WIND by Margaret Mitchell, contain successful businesswomen as leading characters. Women tend to stay home, often providing the emotional strength for their menfolk who are out struggling in the world.

Aside from this retrenchment, changes which affect the role of women appear in discussions of marriage and sex. As in the novels of the twenties, many married people have affairs or, for a while at least, love someone other than their spouse. Most of these are men during this period. Yancey Cravat in CIMARRON periodically deserts his wife. She always waits for him. Wang Lung in THE GOOD EARTH by Pearl Buck takes two mistresses, one to demonstrate his newly acquired prosperity and one young girl in his old age. Andrew Manson, the doctor in THE CITADEL by A.J. Cronin, has a brief affair with rich and glamorous Frances Lovejoy. Of the women, Scarlet O'Hara is long unfaithful to her husbands in thought but never has the chance to put the thought into action. Numerous characters both male and female in GOD'S LITTLE ACRE by Erskine Caldwell are unfaithful, operating on the premise that both men and women have strong animal instincts. These examples, by no means all, show that there was not a return to the pre-war ideals of purity and family solidarity. Yet something from the twenties is missing. That is the consciousness of daring and excitement when family relations are anything other than well regulated. Unfaithfulness is no longer a daring action about which the whole plot revolves. This fact is particularly true for two reasons.

The first reason is that women no longer appear to be rebelling against playing a secondary role in society. . .

The second difference is that during the twenties unfaithfulness was one method of rebellion. This is no longer so important. . .

The changes of the twenties were not totally erased by the Depression, but freedom for and self-assertion by women certainly declined, at least as reflected in the novels, during the period of national crisis.

The forty mystery novels, written from 1926 to 1941 combine the attitudes towards women expressed in the novels of both the twenties and the thirties. In all, the central character who does the crime-solving is a man. Because of their central position, men also usually dominate women. Women do commit crimes though. They certainly do not play the role of pure innocent as they did in the early novels nor that of spiritual home-body that they did in the Depression. In most of the mysteries, women work and play an active role outside the home. Emotionally and sexually they can exercise as much independence as the men. In some of the mysteries, however, women appear merely as objects of prey with little said about them other than the fact that they are female. Generally distinctions drawn about the emotional and physical strength of women end in proving the men stronger.

By the time of the appearance of the novels written between 1938 and 1945, the gains made by women during the two preceding decades have been consolidated. In both the personal and the more worldly spheres the gains are affirmed. All of the innovations of the twenties reappear: individuality and emotional and sexual freedom; the right to travel, to have adventures, and to work. Women and men characters join in expressing the first real political and social concern and becoming actively involved in questions of national rather than personal importance. Women thus for the first time in this group of novels assert themselves in the wider than personal realm. This power by women to know, make judgments of, and operate in an external world is the major innovation of the novels of the World War II period.

Men are central in twenty-two of the fifty books, women in fifteen. In the rest, they carry equal importance. Men do remain dominant over women in the majority of books. They dominate, or are stronger, in thirty-three books, women in only nine. But now the women have a choice. Generally they do choose to be dominated, but not always. The freedom fought for during the twenties is now possible. Women work in the majority of books. They tend to assert their independence in other than sexual relationships. In personal affairs, women tend to show their femininity by submitting to men while asserting their strength in the outside world.

One very interesting type of woman, not representative of the group, attains prominence in several of the novels of the period. That is the Mother Earth figure represented by Ma Joad in John Steinbeck's THE GRAPES OF WRATH and Katy Macauley in William Saroyan's THE HUMAN COMEDY. Both are strong and steady women who give moral support that sustains their families through great crises. When the rest of the world falls apart, they maintain order. Ma Joad explains the steadiness to Pa Joad when he is about to give up. He says: "Seems like our life's over an' done." And she replies:

> It ain't, Pa. An' that's one more thing a woman knows. I noticed that. Man, he lives in jerks--baby born an' a man dies, an' that's a jerk. Woman, it's all one flow, like a stream, little eddies, little waterfalls, but the river, it goes right on. Woman looks at it like that. We ain't gonna die out. People is goin' on--changin' a little, maybe, but goin' right on.[2]

This steadiness, more than any other quality, gives the women their strength in the books of this period. It is not always so pronounced, but it remains a primary factor. This portrayal remains, of course, a stereotype, but it is one of strength not of naivite.

Many women go way beyond this Mother Earth strength. The variety of their activity far surpasses that of the twenties. Women now try to affect the world at large, not just their own lives. For example, women actively combat religious and ethnic discrimination in KITTY FOYLE by Christopher

Morley, in EARTH AND HIGH HEAVEN by Gwethalyn Graham, and in STRANGE FRUIT by Lillian Smith. In Marguerite Steen's THE SUN IS MY UNDOING, Pallas Burmeister chooses to fight for the abolition of slavery rather than marry the man she loves. Women for the first time show physical bravery in a number of the books including THE WHITE TOWER by James Ramsey Ullman and ABOVE SUSPICION by Helen MacInnes. Women characters now are actresses, writers, and secretaries as well as teachers and nurses. Professionally, women still appear to be quite limited, but their brain-power now appears equal to that of men, in some cases at least.

In the romantic sphere, no real innovations take place. Marriages can be happy or unhappy. Both men and women participate in love affairs. And women as well as men show strong sexual motivation. Since earlier novels contained all these elements, further examples seem unnecessary.

The gains made during the World War II years by women in these novels mark the beginning of the emergence of the modern woman, the woman who can be self-reliant, who is physically mobile, concerned with the world beyond the home and capable of operating in it. Her emotional and sexual motivations now are portrayed as being as strong as men's. In the novels, professional opportunities for women remain limited and the majority of the women characters still regard personal considerations as primary, but the wider ones are not totally neglected any more.

The major breakthrough here is that, for the first time, a large number of women are capable, strong, interested in and able to function well in the world outside the home. The acceptance of this new sort of heroine by large numbers of readers shows their approval. The interest and the capability shown by the women characters in these novels are the basic prerequisites to a fuller participation by women in all areas of life, a participation which has increased steadily since World War II.

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[1]Anne Douglas Sedgwick, THE LITTLE FRENCH GIRL, (Boston, 1924), p. 211.

[2]John Steinbeck, THE GRAPES OF WRATH, (New York, 1955), p. 378.

THE INVISIBLE WOMEN
THE HISTORIAN AS PROFESSIONAL MAGICIAN

AN ANALYSIS, QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE OF 27 TEXTBOOKS DESIGNED FOR COLLEGE SURVEY COURSES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

EARL ROBERT SCHMIDT AND DOLORES BARRACANO SCHMIDT

According to Garland C. Parker, Professor of History and Educational Records, University of Cincinnati, who collated recent data on 1089 institutions of higher learning in the U.S., '. . . it seems safe to assume that 7,750,000 or more students will be counted in the approximately 2500 collegiate institutions in the nation.' Of all full-time students, women comprise 40.6%; of those majoring in education, women comprise 71%. There can be little doubt, therefore, that women are a highly visible element on American campuses, at least at the consumer level: they pay tuition, they buy books. Education today is big business, and the historical profession is an important part of that business.

Most educators would agree with Sidney Hook that 'there is a universal need for all individuals to understand the society in which they live' and 'that the key to the wise selection out of the illimitable materials of the past is the notion of relevance.' There is not a state in the union, for example, that does not require some evidence of formal training in American history before granting teaching certification. Let's go back to our visible women--3,146,500 of them, among whom are 71% of all students working towards a teaching certificate, and watch how quickly they disappear from view.

There is a 100% likelihood that American women college students majoring in education will take an American history course. The chances that the course will be designed so that she will better understand the society in which she lives and/or that the materials selected are relevant to her experience as a member of the largest minority in American culture are considerably lower. If she attends a women's college, she has a 33% chance of having a woman as history professor; at a coeducational liberal arts college the probability falls to 5½%. Were she to go to graduate school at one of the top ten departments, the likelihood of her having a woman professor in any area of history would be 1½%. (committee on the Status of Women, AHA, Dec. 1970 report.)

Assuming, even that a woman college student taking an American history survey course breaks the odds and draws a woman professor, there is no possibility whatever that the textbook she will use will be written by a woman. (Charles and Mary Beard's BASIC HISTORY OF THE U.S. is now out of print. Century Publishers is presently considering a text authored by a woman to be ready for 1972-73.) Education, after all, is big business and business is a man's field.

American history college texts represent 4-5 million dollars a year in sales. A textbook company invests hundreds of thousands of dollars in the preparation of survey texts, and everyone knows, no shrewd businessman will take any unnecessary risks with that kind of money. Though there may seem to be little risk involved in putting a woman's name on the title page of a textbook if the book itself is sound, scholarly and well-written, the facts are that (1) even the littlest risk is strenuously avoided by the demonstrably uncourageous crew comprising textbook publishers and (2) the risk might be considerably greater than any rational, educated person is likely to assume. For one thing, Lawrence Simpson's dissertation--a Study of Employing Agent Attitudes Toward Academic Women in Higher Education, clearly shows that those who practice discrimination against women in academic employment also

held general views concerning female inferiority and that such views are strongest among men who have been in teaching and/or administration for a period of from 5 to 25 years. As the AHA Committee Newsletter observes, 'This age group may be assumed to constitute the majority of decision makers in almost any department.' The same situation surely prevails in all major publishing companies. Thus, why read beyond the title page when one already knows the work will be inferior? Studies conducted by psychologists Phillip Goldberg and Sandra and Daryl Bem in which subjects were asked to rate a number of professional articles from each of 6 fields, the article being collated into 2 equal sets of booklets with the name of the author changed so that identical articles were attributed to male authors in one set of booklets and to female authors in another set, showed that the identical article received significantly lower ratings when it was attributed to a female author than when it was attributed to a male author. The results proved constant with both male and female subjects and whether the professional fields of the articles were those generally considered the province of men, engineering and medicine, for example, or of women, dietetics and elementary education. The Bems concluded that the subjects, male and female, rated male authors as better at everything, agreeing with Aristotle that 'we should regard the female nature as afflicted with a natural defectiveness.' Apparently college administrators and textbook publishers also consider women in this light, that is if they bother to consider them at all.

A study of the 27 leading textbooks used in the college-level American history survey course and accounting for almost 99% of the total market was recently completed by E.R. Schmidt, California State College. The study tabulated all references to women, comparing the total number of pages of each text to the number of pages devoted to women and the total number of illustrations in each text to the number depicting women. In addition one woman from each century of American life, Anne Hutchinson, Harriet B. Stowe and Eleanor Roosevelt, were deemed of sufficient importance to their times to be mentioned in survey texts, and each text was checked for inclusion and extent of treatment. This study reveals some rather interesting statistics.

The hefty tomes of the survey texts which range from about 400 to over 2000 pages devote from a high of 2% (Beard) to an infinitesimal 5/100th of 1% (Sellers) of the textual material to American women. Predictably, in illustrated texts, women are seen far more frequently than they are written about, claiming as much as 6% of the total number of illustrations. Thus in Morison's book only 6 of the 1830 pages discuss women (1/3 of 1%) but 4 of 76 pictures (over 5%) are of women, those insignificant but decorative creatures, 15 times more appealing to the eye than to the mind. Greenleaf, one of the latest texts to appear on this multi-million dollar market, likewise devotes 1/2 of 1% of the printed matter to women, though he permits them 5½% of the pictoral content. A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (Graebner, Fife and White) carries this theme to its logical extreme, presenting 'The Fight for Women's Suffrage' as a pictorial essay, thereby reducing a political and intellectual movement to a quaint visual experience providing comic relief to the over-burdened history student.

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Malone and Rauch in their six volume survey of American History, a series of paperbacks allowing for maximum flexibility in course division, though under-representing women, do at least mention Eleanor Roosevelt, Emma Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Gertrude Stein, and the Women's Peace Party of 1914. On the whole their work is marred by a strongly moralistic tone: the flapper "confused equality with men with the right to be immoral"; "Flaming youth was first of all composed of eager young women. They ignited young men." (vol. 5, p. 154) These quotations, while more sensational than those made by other historians, follow the general sexist party line which maintains that though women have nothing whatever to do with the making of American history, they alone are responsible for the breakdown of American family life, the decline in birthrate, the increase in divorce, the increase in juvenile delinquency. Malone and Rauch, who are to be commended for their efforts to define qualitative changes in American life seem peculiarly secretive about the important

role played by women in making those changes possible. For them the power of Woman is sexual and she is a destructive force unless directly engaged in her natural function--supporting men. Thus, "Eleanor Roosevelt discarded the conventional social role of First Lady and plunged with energy and imagination into the New Deal turmoil, served as another pair of eyes and legs for her husband." (p. 203) (In 27 textbooks, the only mention made of Martha Washington describes her shock, after a presidential reception, at finding a greasy mark on the wallpaper--Bailey, p. 243--an image of American womanhood surely better suited to T.V. commercials than to college classrooms.) Women are not credited, however, for bringing about dramatic changes in standards of living. According to Malone and Rauch, "High school education for the children of workers became common. . . class differentiation in clothing was reduced as mass-produced garments improved in quality, declined in price, and closely imitated the simplified fashions of the wealthy. Foreign observers were deeply impressed by the rarity of "class-consciousness" . . . among American workers." (p. 138) The writers are speaking of the 1920's by which time both elementary and secondary school systems had long been staffed almost entirely by educated, dedicated, underpaid women, and it was their less educated, less fortunate sisters who had made the triumph of the American ready-to-wear clothing industry possible. The authors fail to mention these latter facts, a failure shared by the authors of 95% of the other texts in this study.

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The statistics are irrefutable; the quotations are unequivocal; the solution remains to be found. Major revision of textbooks, an expensive but not impossible task, would seem to be in order. But who is to do it? The textbook writers have demonstrated a marked insensitivity to the injustice they are doing their students. Supplementary reading offers a more direct solution, one not dependent on profit-making book companies or sexist historians whose financial success is proof to them that they are doing something right. Courses in women's history have been established at a number of colleges and are certainly helpful antidotes to the other history courses in the curriculum. A device used by Mary Beard and successfully revived by Hofstadter, Miller and Aaron in THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC is that of quoting women commentators on a wide variety of subjects, not only on women's rights or matters traditionally associated with women's roles. Thus, Martha Gelhorn is quoted on the psychological state of the U.S. in times of the Great Depression, Mabel Dodge Luhan is quoted on the relationship between psychology, art, and society, Mrs. Fanny B. Amer, a factory inspector in Massachusetts at the turn of the century, is quoted on labor conditions. In this way, without "creating" or exaggerating the role of women in American history, textbook authors can present a positive image of women, an indication of respect for their ideas and observations, a sense that women were present and were active citizens throughout American history. Susan R. Resnick of Reed College has suggested ways in which individual undergraduate women studying history may help bring about a history curriculum which has relevance for women: "petitioning departmental search committees to hire women, encouraging fellow students to do independent study in the history of women, alerting history professors to the validity of and demand for curriculum dealing with the history of women, alerting the student body to the socio-economic oppression of women resulting from the absence of their historical consciousness, initiating student-led seminars on these topics." Thus, consciousness-raising in this area of women's liberation, as in others, is a first order of business.

On the educational scene today, American history text-books are a prime example of academic sleight-of-hand, of that marvelous trick whereby the hand proves quicker than the eye, in this case the writers' hand and the students' eyes. More mysterious even than the ability to depict a world without women, a world whose existence is clearly denied by the writer's and readers' own experiences, is the fact that until very recently not a single professor protested that historical "truth" should be so unlike reality, not a single paying customer demanded her money back on the basis that she had paid for a history course and had been sold a male fantasy instead.

TITLE	AUTHOR(S)	PUBLISHER	W/T PAGES	W/T IL	HUT.#	STOWE	ROOS.#
Survey of Am. Hist.	Baldwin-Kelley	American Book Co.	1/2/515	0	0	ment.	0
American Civil.	Boyd, Worcester	Allyn & Bacon	2/787	0	ment.	0	0
Empire for Lib.	Malone, Rauch	Appleton,Century	9/2290	0	½pg.	ment.	2sen.
Am.Pol.&Soc.Hist.	Faulkner	Appleton, Century	5/1100	0/42	sen.	0	0
Basic Hist. of U.S.	C.&M. Beard	Doubldday, Doran	9/504	0	ment.	para.	0
The Am. Pageant	Bailey	Heath	3/1047	2/285	para.	3sen.	0
American Profile	Bordon, Graham Nash, Oglesby	D.C. Heath	1/2/372	0	0	2sen.	ment.
New Histo. of U.S.	Miller	Dell-Laurel	1/2/526	0	2sen.	sen.	0
The Nation. Exp.	Blum, Catton Schlesinger, Stampp, Woodward	Harcourt, Brace	2/908	2/210	½pg.	para.	pic.
The Am. Nation	Garraty	Harper, Row	2/976	1/300	para.	pg.	sen.
America--A Hist.	Handlin	Holt, Rinehart,W.	10/1098	11/337	para.	2sen.	0
Hist. of Am. Dem.	Hicks, Mowry,Burke	Houghton,Mifflin	3/915	2/197	para.	para.	ment.
Hist. of the U.S.	Williams, Current Freidel	Alfred Knopf	9/1688	10/414	para.	2para.	ment.
U.S. of Am.--A Hist.	Parks	Alfred Knopf	3/831	0/22	para.	2sen.	0
Hist. of Am. People	Carmen, Syrett Wishy	Alfred Knopf	4/1658	1/265	½par.	2sen.	0
Out of the Past	Gawrenski	Glencoe Press	1/4/430	0	2sen.	[illegible]	0
The U.S. of Am.	Perkins,VanDeusen	MacMillan	6/1711	5/215	0	pg.	0
Hist. of the U.S.	Graebner, Fite & White	McGraw	8/1405	33/504	para.	para.	sen.
Society & Thought	Wish	McKay	19/1256	7/112	½pg.	pg.	0
Hist. of Am.People	Morrison	Oxford	6/1830	4/76	0	0	sen.
Birth&Growth of U.S.	Nye, Moepurge	Pelican	4/766	0	0	sen.	0
Am. Republic	Hofstadter,Miller &Aaron	Prentice Hall	9/1445	4/314/	½par.	ment.	sen.
Synopsis of Am.Hist.	Sellers	Rand, McNally	1/4/448	0	0	ment.	0
U.S.A.-Hist.ofNations	Greenleaf,Morris	Rand, McNally	11/1949	15/255	pg.	2par.	para.
Democrat. Exper.	Wright, VerSteeg Nye, Hamilton,Petter DeSantis, Harbaugh Link,Cochran,Degler	Scott,Foresman&Co.	2/536	9/159	0	2sen.	0
Living America	Lumian	Van Nostrand	4/538	5/183	0	½pg.	para.
Stream of Am. Hist.	Baldwin	Van Nostrand	2/397	2/162	0	para.	2sen.

KEY: W=# of pages on women
T=total # of pages
W=# of illustrations on women
T=total # of illustrations

IL=illustrations
pg.=page
sen.=sentence
para.=paragraph

ment.=mention
#Hut.=Hutchinson
#Roos.=Roosevelt

WOMEN IN UNITED STATES HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Woman Militant IN THE ARENA OF BENJAMIN ORANGE FLOWER

BY ALMA J. PAYNE

In introducing Henry James' THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY, Leon Edel spoke of Isabel Archer as "an imposing canvas of an American woman in the great gallery of the world's fiction" concerned with ". . . how to retain a fortuitously won freedom in a fettering world." There is little doubt that James did see "that one of the great questions of the dawning century would be the role of women in the world" and it was no accident that in the earlier HAWTHORNE he had pointed up the "modernity" of the characterization of Zenobia which struck him as" . . . the nearest approach that Hawthorne has made to the complete creation of a person."[1] James was joined by his fellow realist, William Dean Howells, in the recognition of the American woman as being of primary importance as potential public and recognized arbitrator of content and tone. More importantly, since both agreed that the REALIST's art might be selective, but "typically" and inclusively selective, the American woman, her search for a role, for self-fulfillment, and for reality in the midst of illusion loomed large in the fiction of both.

No matter how strongly and truly presented, the heroines of Howell and James were "typical" fictional women and the question remained as to where the actual women might find an opportunity to voice their social criticism and their need to escape from the pedestal upon which the contemporary male had placed the "nice" female, commonly regarded as the guardian of the finer, more spiritual element of the American character. No matter how flattering such a position, the American woman of the latter half of the nineteenth century was a second-class citizen whose descent into active participation in reform was viewed with alarm, suspicion, and downright horror by her society. Only through a radical instrument could she obtain a hearing and such a vehicle for expression was THE ARENA, published semi-annually from December, 1889 to August, 1909, and edited, except for a three-year period (1897-1900), by Benjamin Orange Flower.

The heritage of Flower was a mixture of fundamentalism in religion, an eighteenth-century belief in the perfectibility of man, and a didacticism which found written expression as early as his eleventh year. Combined with such a background was a deep interest in the new science and sociology and a seriousness of purpose worthy of the early Puritans. Consequently THE ARENA reflected his zealous crusading spirit and his curiosity about new areas of knowledge. The periodical which seemed likely to rival HARPER'S and THE CENTURY did not confine itself to lip service to the "spiritual potential" of women. Rather it involved itself and its readers in those problems which directly concerned women and which challenged their participation.

Looking back from the pages of PROGRESSIVE MEN, WOMEN, AND MOVEMENTS OF THE PAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS (Boston, 1914), Flower remembered the clear call of Mary A. Livermore in the initial volume of THE ARENA. Chosen because of her "clear mental vision, searching logic, and passion for justice . . . matched by a moral courage and enthusiasm,"[2] she decried the contemptuous treatment of women in literature, customs and laws where she had been the equal of men "only when punishment and payment of taxes were in question" and answered the gloomy predictions of dire results of woman suffrage, pointing out that the opinions of men could not represent "the special interests of women [which] are in the home and in the children, in the future of the race, in what really concerns the highest civilization" and recalling the obvious parallel to "taxation without representation" Her closing words called for that time when "manly men and womanly women, equal in rights but differing in functions, shall work together for the accomplishment of right, justness and justice in national, as in family life."[3] Flower had chosen well, for here in essence were the program notes for Woman Militant in his ARENA.

He made Helen H. Gardner his co-editor. In the first twenty volumes one quarter of the contributors were women,[4] writing on medicine, religion, temperance, child labor, "age of consent" laws, exploration of Africa, the Farmers' Alliance, Wall Street, psychic phenomena, and many other areas which interested the indefatigably optimistic editor who shared Mary Livermore's prediction of "a new day dawning for women."[5] No longer was woman content to submit to a place allotted by man. She was growing aware of "irreconcilable"contrasts" and was in "rising rebellion against social wrongs."[6] The American woman might accept the spiritual superiority myth but she wished to turn from passivity to activism for she saw that wrongs might be righted, not by destructive might but by uplifting love--"the intrinsically feminine quality."[7] Love as an active force might be weakened by the excessive materialism of the age, the artificiality and selfishness of society, and even by the combative spirit of woman in her battle for equality. Nature's law called for masculine and feminine cooperation, impossible when materialism and social customs made it an impossibility for woman to really make the age what it was commonly labeled--a woman's age. If her spiritual power could be both positive and active she could achieve her birthright for ". . . to every woman on the planet is allotted some fraction of the world's redemption."

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Frances Willard urged the Knights of Labor to support enfranchisement of women so that together they might legally destroy the threat of the saloons, which, set in a row, would stretch from Chicago to New York.[20] In March, 1895, Frances Willard, now President of the National W.C.T.U., urged that women be allowed the vote in order that temperance instruction might be enforced in schools; science might convince where "crusading women" met only ridicule.[21] A symposium: "How to Deal with the Liquor Traffic," concluded that "the way out from a national disease" was concerted political action by enfranchised women.[22] Catherine H. Spence undertook a campaign for proportional representation so that the "unrepresented and misrepresented" among the silver party, Prohibitionists, and suffragists might force the old American parties to justify their existence by recognizing the problems of the day.[23] The peculiarly difficult position of Southern women was demonstrated in a debate between Josephine K. Henry and Annah Robinson Watson. The "new woman" of the South, as shown in excellent testimonial letters, no longer idolized chivalric legends and social prestige but realized "that liberty regards no sex and justice bows before no idol."[24] Mrs. Watson's retort began with the Biblical argument of separate creation, stressed woman's "peculiar" work, expressed the fear of domestic dissension and the threat of "interference with God's planned evolution toward perfection" and offered as the best answer--regeneration, education by which women could influence their men. The writer further urged that the ballot be witheld from immigrants in the North and the Negro in the South for, if Negro women obtained the ballot, "better women of the section" would never vote.[25]

The suffrage movement met telling opposition from lawyers who argued on the Bible and clergy who debated from the basis of the Constitution. Helen H. Gardener denied the lawyers' claim that suffrage would degrade women and unsex men. If there were degradation, it came not from violation of Biblical commands but from denial of human rights.[26] In answering Bishop Doane of Albany who had denied that women wanted suffrage, Margaret Noble Lee repudiated the arguments of Constitutional intention, equal but different functions, the unfailing rightness of the law of supply and demand in determining wages, and the Bishop's climactic statement, "There is no freer human being on earth today . . . than the American woman. She has all liberty that is not license." She saw enfranchisement as a new kind of war in which woman militant enlisted. "Woman's emancipation has not been conceived in rebellion, brought forth on the battle field, made tragic by martyrdom. Woman has not trundled cannon over the land nor talked treason; she has not neglected her home nor family. She has studied and thought and reasoned away all opposition not founded in prejudice. Her purpose is fixed and her faith strong that her cause will prevail."[27]

Closely allied to the suffrage movement, particularly in western states where women were enfranchised, were articles on the Farmers Alliance Movement and on the Single Tax. As early as 1892 Hamlin Garland's A SPOIL OF OFFICE characterized Ida Wilbur as strong, idealistic, humanitarian, calling for "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." Annie L. Diggs, like Garland, saw American farms as "recruiting stations from whence more women went to insane asylums than from any other walk in life."[28] The Alliance provided intellectual stimulus, a sense of purpose, and fiery political participation by women in such states as Kansas, Michigan, Texas, and California. One of the most revealing articles indicating the interest women took in the land problem was "The Land Question: A Woman's Symposium,"[29] an eleven part presentation of Henry George's Single Tax, its promise and its dangers. Of interest were Altona Chapman's argument that since the social organism was like the human organism, the single tax would give equal access to the "natural" source of supply; Sara M. Gay's statement that the land question and the labor question were the same; Frances M. Milne's condemnation of laissez-faire and support of such governmental centralization; Lona I. Robinson's classification of the single tax as "a centrifugal reform which would help to obtain equal individual rights; and Frances E. Russell's call for brotherhood to accompany single tax and thus prevent dangerous monopoly. The same Frances Russell provided perhaps the best summary in May, 1896: "The relation of man to land is a basic relation; and there can be no solution of the labor question which does not involve the establishment of the principle that all men have a natural, equal, and inalienable right to the use of the earth."[30]

Flower's ARENA did not hesitate to print articles treating "delicate" questions. In April, 1894, Dr. Holmes' "Heredity and Environment" traced cellular evolution and presented environment as a corrective for faulty heredity which would be escaped. Holmes saw physician and sociologist as equals, since neither disease or crime could be isolated from heredity. Climactically, he urged compulsory celibacy to protect posterity.[31] In May and July of the same year, Helen H. Gardener supported Herbert Spencer's statement that the most important question confronting humanity was whether acquired character was transmitted to children. Accompanying her argument was a mistaken but surprisingly frank discussion of syphilis, for "heredity and environment act and react . . . with the regularity and inevitability of night and day" and any physical factor was worthy of consideration.[32]

As early as 1893 Flower had seen the importance of wives' "absolute control of their bodies, and their right to say when they would become mothers . . ."[33] By December of 1894 Flower had expanded his discussion to include the 40,000 professional prostitutes in New York City and to consider the effects of heredity and environment upon these girls.[34] In a continuation of the article in January, 1895, he called for the raising of the "age of consent," pointing out that in states where women had franchise the age had risen from 14 to 18. In the same issue a symposium, "The Shame of America--The Age of Consent Laws in the United States,"[35] gave the ARENA's militant women a voice. Helen H. Gardener challenged any legislator of any state to send a signed statement of reasons why age of consent should be lower for women than the age of protection was for boys. Frances Willard threw the weight of the W.C.T.U. behind the cause of making every woman the "arbiter of her own destiny." Miss W.A. Dromgoole, well known to ARENA readers as a local colorist, told of working with the W.C.T.U. in Tennessee to get the age of consent raised from 10 to 16. Dr. Emily Blackwell noted, "It would seem that our present legislation was influenced more by respect for property than by consideration for personal protection," and urged that the age of legal majority should be adopted. As she added, "seduction--a minor offense in a man [was] socially fatal for the woman." In February, Flower capped the symposium by his own article, "Social Conditions as Feeders of Immorality," tying such immorality to the existence of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, side by side. "Extreme wealth overshadowing extreme poverty will be invariably accompanied by immorality at the zenith and vice at the

nadir of society."[36] By use of frank case histories he wove reality into the warp of the theories of Herbert Spencer and Henry George, the whole colored by his evangelistic enthusiasm.

With equal fervor the ARENA supported reform in feminine dress. How, asked Frances E. Russell, could women demand equality with men yet dress like children. "From the crown of her head decked with the stuffed bodies or wings of slaughtered songbirds or cruelly weighted with jet and glass ornaments, to the soles of her feet perched upon disease-producing heels or standing in shoes too thin-soled to protect from dampness--the average dress of the average woman pronounces her verdict: fickle, frivolous, incompetent."[37] She called up her troops: women physicians and artists, women in college, the Society of Collegiate Alumni, women's clubs, the W.C.T.U., The Association for Advancement of Women, and the Women's Suffrage Association. Her challenge: "Let this physical freedom and with it an incalculable advance in spiritual freedom be the legacy which women of this decade shall leave to the 20th century." The battle was joined. Flower supported the cause with a persuasive article, complete with illustrations, entitled, "Fashion's Slaves."[38] Using the popular interest in evolution, he argued for responsibility to posterity, physically and ethically, and urged appropriate education. His plea was answered in August, 1892 by a long, detail-packed, "Brief Survey of the American Dress Reform Movements of the Past with Views of Representative Women," and before long the voices of Frances E. Russell, Mary W. Sewall, and Frances Willard urged women to free themselves so that they would be in harmony with " . . . the inevitable course of that evolution which is slowly bringing woman to a higher plane of condition and duty."[39]

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Flower's "fair warriors" sallied forth to the World's Fair sans corsets but with conventional attire prudently packed in their trunks. Their reception was mixed; their movement was a minority one: yet their ideals had been translated into action, for, as Mrs. Flower said in quoting Celia B. Whitehead, "Until woman is allowed to have ankles there is no hope for her brains."[43] Like Ruskin, Mrs. Flower felt that beauty followed the demand for utility. The conclusion of Mrs. Flower's essay, even though related to a minor skirmish of the feminist's war, that of dress reform, recapitulates the sincere beliefs that had enlisted Woman Militant in the campaigns of Benjamin Orange Flower's ARENA:

> Our goddess of liberty should be no mere emblem; but woman must through culture, growth, and service raise herself to the high dais of perfect equality with man; nor must she rest until she like Ruskin raises him to the high moral and spiritual plane her soul demands.

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[1]Henry James, HAWTHORNE (Garden City, N.Y., n.d.), p. 114. [2]Flower, PROGRESSIVE MEN AND WOMEN. . ., p. 145. [3]"Centuries of Dishonor," THE ARENA, I(Dec., 1889), 82-92. [4]H.F. Cline, "Flower and THE ARENA, 1889-1909," JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, (Sept., 1940), p. 249. [5]"Twenty-five Years on the Lecture Platform," THE ARENA, VI (Aug., 1892), p. 271. [6]Cora Maynard, "The Woman's Part," THE ARENA, VII (March, 1893), p. 476. [7]Ibid., p. 477. [20]"The Coming Brotherhood," Ibid., p. 317-24. [21]"Scientific Temperance Instruction in Public Schools," THE ARENA, XII, 10-16. [22]THE ARENA, IX (May, 1894), 827-44. [23]"Effective Voting the Only Effective Moralizer of Politics," THE ARENA, X(Nov., 1894), 767-76. [24]Henry, "The New Woman of the New South," THE ARENA, XI(Feb., 1895), 353-62. [25]Watson, "The Attitude of Southern Women on the Suffrage Question," Ibid., 363-69. [26]"Shall Women Vote," THE ARENA, XV(Dec., 1895), 67-79. [27]Bishop Doane and Woman Suffrage," Ibid., (March, 1896), 642-53. [28]"Women in the Alliance Movement," THE ARENA, VI(June, 1892), 161. [29]Ibid., X(Oct., 1894), 622-47. [30]"Representative Women on Vital Social Problems," THE ARENA, XV(May, 1896), 960. [31]IX, pp. 571-81. [32]Ibid., 769-76; Ibid., X, 145-52. [33]"Well-Springs of Present-Day Immorality," THE ARENA, VIII(August, 1893), 398. [34]"Well-Springs and Feeders of Immorality," THE ARENA, XI, 56-70. [35]XI(Jan., 1895), 192-215. [36]Ibid., (Feb., 1895), 399-412. [37]"Women's Dress," THE ARENA, IV(Feb., 1891), 352. [38]Ibid., 401-30. [39]"Symposium on Women's Dress," Part I, THE ARENA, VI (Sept, 1892), 507. [43]"The Rational Dress Movement, A Symposium," THE ARENA, IX(Feb., 1894), 325.

Black Female

CASTELIKE STATUS OF WOMEN AND NEGROES

Hacker, Helen Mayer, "Women as a Minority Group" Social Forces, Vol. 31, Oct. 1951, p. 67.

NEGROES	WOMEN
1. HIGH SOCIAL VISIBILITY	
a. Skin color, other "racial" characteristics	a. Secondary sex characteristics
b. (Sometimes) distinctive dress--bandana, flashy clothes	b. Distinctive dress, skirts, etc.
2. ASCRIBED ATTRIBUTES	
a. Inferior intelligence, smaller brain, less convoluted, scarcity of geniuses	a. Ditto
b. More free in instinctual gratification. More emotional, "primitive" and childlike. Imagined sexual prowess envied.	b. Irresponsible, inconsistent, emotionally unstable. Lack strong superego. Women as "temptresses."
c. Common stereotype "inferior"	c. "Weaker"
3. RATIONALIZATIONS OF STATUS	
a. Thought all right in his place	a. Woman's place is in the home
b. Myth of contented Negro	b. Myth of contented woman--"feminine" woman is happy in subordinate role
4. ACCOMMODATION ATTITUDES	
a. Supplicatory whining intonation of voice	a. Rising inflection, smiles, laughs, downward glances
b. Deferential manner	b. Flattering manner
c. Concealment of real feelings	c. "Feminine wiles"
d. Outwit "white folks"	d. outwit "menfolk"
e. Careful study of points at which dominant group is susceptible to influence	e. Ditto
f. Fake appeals for directives; show of ignorance	f. Appearance of helplessness
5. DISCRIMINATIONS	
a. Limitations on education--should fit "place" in society	a. Ditto
b. Confined to traditional jobs--barred from supervisory positions. Their competition feared. No family precedents for new aspirations.	b. Ditto
c. Deprived of political importance	c. Ditto
d. Social and professional segregation	d. Ditto
e. More vulnerable to criticism	e. e.g., conduct in bars
6. SIMILAR PROBLEMS	
Roles not clearly defined, but in flux as result of social change. Conflict between achieved status and ascribed status.	

Black Female

ON THE SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK GIRLS

by Geneva Smitherman

In the Black family structure, girls are reared on the following diet:

APPETIZER: Niggers (meaning Black men) ain't shit. They'll get you pregnant, do you wrong, and walk off and forget you.

MAIN COURSE: Therefore go to school, or get you a trade or skill, so you can be independent because you ain't gon' find no man you can rely on.

Now, if you can't do that, the next best thing is to find you a good honky with plenty of money, become his lady, and let him take care of you.

DESSERT: Anyway, you can always go on ADC. That's better than taking stuff from jiveass niggers.

The consequences of such early learning, and believe me, it's internalized--might be delineated as follows:

A Black girl may follow the course of action erroneously labelled independence. (I say erroneously because I do not feel that women can or should do without men, nor can or should men do without women. After all, the problem now is not men or women per se, but the socio-cultural roles and images we have allowed others to create for us.) In adulthood, this Black girl soon falls prey to the matriarchy myth which has abounded in popular Black mythology for a long time and which was recently given sociologically scientific popularity by one so-called "expert," Mr. Moynihan. Feeling thus, that she is too bossy or aggressive--I mean, even if she never heard of Moynihan, she has heard many Black men accuse her of that--feeling thus, the now-grown, usually economically independent Black female perceives only two options:

1. Working at her chosen career or profession, or possibly having gone on ADC, she is stricken with feelings of guilt about having emasculated the Black man. It's an illogical reaction, though, because Black women, not having any power in this society, haven't been in a position to emasculate anybody. We all know who did that, if we just stop and think about it. At any rate, to compensate for her "crime," she may tolerate all kinds of utter nonsense and plain bullshit from any guy she happens to be involved with. In thus coddling her man, she cannot possibly fulfill the supportive role that each sex requires of the other. Instead of complementing him, she subjugates herself to him and thus gives him a very false and dangerous sense of superiority. A white girl once asked me, "Why do Black women take so much stuff off their men?" The guilt syndrome I've just described answers this question, at least in part.

2. The second alternative is reflected in the recent trend towards adopting white role models for the Black family. There is a good deal of talk nowadays about the proper role for a female in the Black Revolution. The story goes that this question was once posed at a Black Panther meeting and the answer was: The proper position for a woman in the Revolution is prone. Whether there is any truth to this story or not, I do not know. But I do know that a recurrent theme among many of today's Black intellectuals--who, above all, should know better--is that Black women should step back so that Black men can step forward. Thus the kind of action that I see intellectual and talented Black women exhibiting today reflects their acquiescence to the middle-class white model of wife/mother/stay-at-home-with-the-kids/etc. In short, the Feminine Mystique is being rerun in Blackface.

By way of summary, let me emphasize that the solution to our problems as Black females and as Black people is not--repeat NOT--to relive and repeat the mistakes of whites, but to recognize that the same oppressor, indeed, the same system of oppression, that has shackled Black men shackles and oppresses women as well.

--MOVING OUT, March 1971

. . . and two more for the Daisy Chain: DÉJÀ VUS, Cont'd

HOWE ON HOWE: on seeing the mote in the other person's eye and missing the beam in one's own.

Most novels about American JEWS are afflicted with stereotyped characterizations. Seldom does the JEW appear in them as an individual; almost always he is made the representative of a group or subgroup; . . . in the eyes of both writer and reader he is first the JEW and second a person. If conceived with hostility, he is drawn from hidden regions of the unconscious, . . . If the object of sympathy, the JEW is put together out of the thin surfaces of conventional social-behavior patterns and idealizations. But it makes little moral or aesthetic difference which attitude the writer takes, since both deny the one right the JEW needs most: existence as a unique human being, with an individuality of his own. And in either case the central illusion of the novel--that it somehow "exists" as a refracted version of experience in which characters enjoy a spontaneous being--is destroyed. . . . To suggest reality, fictional characterization must project distinctive personalities. Even when a character is intended to represent a social type, he must first exist as an individual being. When stereotyped, a character becomes nothing more than a function of the author's perceptions, a bundle of the most obvious and superficial traits conventionally associated with a social type. Some of these traits may originally have had some relevance or reality since people in actual life often live according to conventional patterns, but at best their validity remains partial and external. And a fictional character in whose individuality we cannot believe is not likely to impress us as a valid representative of a social type. . . .

--Irving Howe, THE STRANGER AND THE VICTIM: TWO JEWISH STEREOTYPES OF AMERICAN FICTION, in Commentary, August 1949, p. 147.

Directions: Now read the above again, substituting the word WOMAN for JEW (and SHE for HE since the "Jew" is--sigh!--conceived of course as the male Jew). Now read about women stereotyped as bitches ("conceived with hostility") or moms ("objects of sympathy").

FIRST PRIZE FOR THE BEST ENTRY IN HARPER'S "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR" COLUMN:

It was borne upon ER (which could, one supposes--in great Britain, of course--be construed as Elizabeth, Rex, though on these shores the case can, he thinks, be made for Eager Reader) that something, perhaps something even primal was at issue. The cover bespoke it; the awed words of the Editor offered imprimatur, introit, and invocation. . . .And yet...and yet...Emerging from the syntactical whirlpool, ER found himself strangely hungered, empty--not purged nor cleansed so much, nor enlightened in the primal knowings promised there, but--how is this to be well said?--drained of interest, dulled, of obfuscation filled from aching rump to burning eyeballs. No longer ER, but CR then. Confused Reader? No. No. More than that. Conned Reader comes closer to it. Conned. By the slackness of an author's vision flogged mercilessly myopic by his rampant ego, by the abdication of an Editor from his holy office with its clear right and bounden duty to cut, cut, cut--to hack away, to prune, to trim, to demonstrate his love for language. Oh expository language! Oh lovely, precious expository language! Oh poesy, for that matter! If Millett Misquotes, must Mailer murk? And get away with it, as well? And so ER, now CR, sits and broods: has it all, then, come down to this, that the entrails tell us to worship God, and to hell with contraception?

--Edward M. Nielsen; Glenview, Ill.

Right OH, ER!!

BOOBY PRIZE FROM THE TIME MAGAZINE "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR" COLUMN:

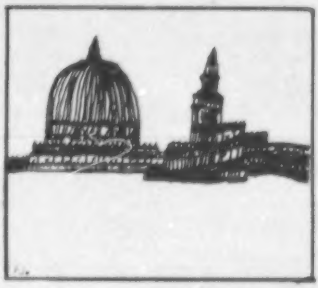
Sir: The doctrine of the Trinity discloses paziality in leaving out of deity all trace of femininity. One of the three should be a she. To manifest divinity required a real nativity, and that required maternity, a woman's creativity. Which one of the three should be a she? Because the cosmos needs a hostess we recommend: Father, Son and Holy Ghostess.

--(THE REV.) ROBBINS RALPH, Avon Park, Florida, Time, Sept. 21, 1970.

Straight from the college textbook . . . DÉJÀ VUS, Cont'd

SUBTLE USE OF STEREOTYPES IN ART, LITERATURE, MUSIC, ARCHITECTURE

FROM E.B. FELDMAN, ART AS IMAGE AND IDEA, 1966, pp.238-239:



. . . The Great Dome is a triumph of philosophic statement . . . the dome is the architectural expression of the female breast, the symbol of maternal nurture. In the right half of the picture, Klee portrays a tower, symbol of the male principle, which is essentially geometric, a system of triangles. The two basic shapes are quite starkly presented, each occupying one half of the picture space. They are connected somewhat (not really joined) at the base of both buildings, but it is worth noting that Klee employs no compositional device to harmonize the two shapes, to connect them visually, to mitigate their essential opposition. Furthermore, he ignores the tower in his title. If we may permit ourselves some amateur psychologizing, Klee here is expressing (1) the eternal war between the sexes and (2) his admiration, as a man, for a woman. . . . Just as human personality struggles with itself and sometimes succeeds in becoming alienated, the sexes, which must unite to be creative, are nevertheless in open opposition by the very nature of their appearances--and this dichotomy is expressed in the contrasting monuments that are built as reminders of these differences.

FROM THRALL AND HIBBARD, A HANDBOOK TO LITERATURE, 1960, p.200:

Feminine Ending: An extra-metrical syllable, bearing no stress, added to the end of a line in iambic or anapestic meter. This variation gives a sense of movement and an irregularity to the meter which make for grace and lightness. This form is perhaps most commonly used in blank verse. The second line below carries an illustration:

O! I could play the woman with mine eyes
And braggart with my tongue. But gentle heavens,
Cut short all intermission.

--Shakespeare

Feminine Rime (Double Rime): A rime of two syllables, one stressed and one unstressed, as waken and forsaken, audition and rendition. . . . The term feminine is a courtesy--either to the form or to woman-hood--since it is employed to connote the lightness and grace which result from the use of this type of rime.

FROM MCKINNEY AND ANDERSON, DISCOVERING MUSIC, 1962, p.192:

The cardinal principle of this sonata form is that of the manipulation of two main thematic groups of contrasting character, the one vigorous (masculine, it is sometimes designated), the other (feminine) gentler and more lyrical. . . . The first group is usually powerful, aggressive and vital, and stands in strong key contrast to the second group which is exactly opposite in mood--relaxed, lyric.

SONG LYRICS, THEN.....AND NOW:

The girl that I marry will have to be/as soft and pink as a nursery. The girl I call my own/will wear satins and laces and smell of cologne. Her nails will be polished and in her hair/she'll wear a gardenia, and I'll be there. 'Stead of flittin' I'll be sittin' next to her and she'll purr like a kitten. A doll I can carry, the girl that I marry will be. --THE GIRL THAT I MARRY

She's got style, she's got grace, and she always knows her place/ she's a lady. She knows me through and through, and she knows just what to do/to try and please me. I can leave her on her own, knowing she's all right alone...She can take what I dish out, and that ain't easy.--Tom Jones' Hit SHE'S A LADY

. . . and remember these paragraphs?? DÉJÀ VUS, Cont'd

THE GENTEEL TRADITION IN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY
by George Santayana

. . . America is a young country with an old mentality: it has enjoyed the advantages of a child carefully brought up and thoroughly indoctinated; it has been a wise child. But a wise child, an old head on young shoulders, always has a comic and unpromising side. The wisdom is a little thin and verbal, not aware of its full meaning and grounds; and physical and emotional growth may be stunted by it, or even deranged. . . . I do not think the hereditary philosophy of America has done much to atrophy the natural activities of the inhabitants; the wise child has not missed the joys of youth or of manhood; but what has happened is that the hereditary philosophy has grown stale, and that the academic philosophy afterwards developed has caught the stale odor from it. America is not simply, as I said a moment ago, a young country with an old mentality: it is a country with two mentalities, one a survival of the beliefs and standards of the fathers, the other an expression of the instincts, practice, and discoveries of the younger generations.

In all the higher things of the mind--in religion, in literature, in the moral emotions--it is the hereditary spirit that still prevails, so much so that Mr. Bernard Shaw finds that America is a hundred years behind the times. The truth is that one-half of the American mind, that not occupied intensely in practical affairs, has remained, I will not say high-and-dry, but slightly becalmed; it has floated gently in the back-water, while, alongside, in invention and industry and social organization, the other half of the mind was leaping down a sort of Niagara Rapids. This division may be found symbolized in American architecture: a neat reproduction of the colonial mansion--with some modern comforts introduced surreptitiously--stands beside the skyscraper. The American Will inhabits the skyscraper; the American Intellect inhabits the colonial mansion. The one is the sphere of the American man; the other, at least predominantly, of the American woman. The one is all aggressive enterprise; the other is all genteel tradition. [emphasis added]

[redacted]HY HAVE THERE BEEN NO GREAT WOMEN ARTISTS??
by Linda Nochlin

. . . The question tolls reproachfully in the background of most discussions of the so-called woman problem. But like so many other so-called questions involved in the feminist "controversy," it falsifies the nature of the issue at the same time that it insidiously supplies its own answer: "There have been no great women artists because women are incapable of greatness.". . . The feminist's first reaction is to swallow the bait, hook, line and sinker, and to attempt to answer the question as it is put: i.e., to dig up examples of worthy or insufficiently appreciated women artists throughout history; to rehabilitate rather modest, if interesting and productive, careers; to "rediscover" forgotten flower-painters or David-followers and make out a case for them. . . . Another attempt to answer the question involves shifting the ground slightly and asserting, as some contemporary feminists do, that there is a different kind of "greatness" for women's art than for men's, thereby postulating the existence of a distinctive and recognizable feminine style. . . . The fault, dear brothers, lies not in our stars, our hormones, our menstrual cycles or our empty internal spaces, but in our institutions and our education--education understood to include everything that happens to us from the moment we enter this world of meaningful symbols, signs and signals. The miracle is, in fact, that given the overwhelming odds against women, or blacks, that so many of both have managed to achieve so much sheer excellence, in those bailiwicks of white masculine prerogative like science, politics or the arts. . . .

--ARTNEWS, January 1971

THE DOUBLE TAKE: A "PECULIAR PHENOMENON"
A Mini-Essay by Carlene Blanchard

[Ed. Note: This section was a part of the analysis from Dr. Blanchard that arrived too late to be integrated into Chapter One. I therefore add it as addendum representing her interpretation of these findings. In a way, her "peculiar phenomenon" is a kind of déjà vu.--BC]

As I studied the replies of women to our questionnaire and went through the coding process a "peculiar phenomenon" kept cropping up: by far the majority of women in our sample were aware of and could cite instances of overt or covert discrimination against them; they lived in a world of consciousness quite different from that of the men respondents, most of whom felt there is little or no discrimination against women in their universities and in their professions, but some women respondents sent us questionnaires which reflected a strange ambivalence. On the one hand, these women told us they had experienced no discrimination, or little, or some, but not serious instances of it. Then, in questions immediately following these denials, they cited several personal experiences of it, experiences which could by no means be called of no consequence. Here are some examples:

> None, except by subordinates such as secretaries, etc. (47)
>
> I have encountered none. (27) (But she tells us that in her job she is "regarded as temporary, emotional.")
>
> No, except in post-doctoral Fulbright fellowship for teaching in University in Netherlands. (27)
>
> No, I wasn't. (39) (But later she explains that at her college nuns do more than others and are expected to, with far less pay.)
>
> Very little overt or covert discrimination. (10) (She then reveals that she experienced a one-year delay of salary and rank promotion because of the anti-feminine chairman of her department. This respondent underlined "rage" heavily several times, in answer to our query of how she reacted to knowing or suspecting that she had been discriminated against.)
>
> Comparatively little; I am single. (78) (Then on the second question asking for specific evidence: "One promotion may have been a little slow" --asst. prof. for 11 years, assoc. for 9 more, before promotion to full.)

One gropes about for a plausible explanation of this curious combination of denial and then affirmation of discrimination. Could it be in the way the questionnaire was phrased? Is there some sort of "sleeper" effect here: respondents answer the first question negatively before they really give the problem much thought, then unconscious memories are jogged and they find they do have instances to cite? Is the very sequence of the questionnaire a "consciousness-raising" device? Does such a clear denial of experiences of discrimination indicate these women have been "brainwashed" by male chauvinists into believing a "male" view of their world? Do the questions pose some sort of threat to women who have managed to work out a comfortable modus vivendi in which they ignore what they feel they cannot change?

I'd venture a guess that a strong explanation of the "peculiar phenomenon" lies in the very nature of the man-woman relationship in our culture. Unlike the blacks, women are much more intimately bound to their so-called oppressors. Separatism, for most of us, is no viable alternative. . . . It would appear that even a frank admission...may be viewed as too open an attack upon that male establishment--an "establishment" in which most women have a great deal at stake. Many have not yet come to the realization that to the extent men are allowed to tyrannize over women, even covertly, to that extent then they are not completely human and both they and women suffer for it.

THE GREAT AMERICAN BITCH

BY DOLORES BARRACANO SCHMIDT
SLIPPERY ROCK STATE COLLEGE

(A paper read at the MLA convention December, 1970 and published in COLLEGE ENGLISH, May 1971)

When a character appears and reappears virtually unchanged in the work of a number of different authors over a period of time, we may theorize (a) that the character is derivative, the writers having used a common model, or (b) that the character is a product of social conditioning, an ideal or counter-ideal of the prevailing values of the society, or (c) that the character is a response to the writers' needs, a mythical being invented to give solace in an otherwise terrifying situation. The evolution of the Great American Bitch as literary archetype would seem, at least in part, to validate each of these hypotheses.

The Great American Bitch is that anti-heroine of a thousand faces, one example of whom is Margot, the taut, unhappy wife of Francis Macomber, a type who emerges in American literature in the post-World War I era and is still very much alive, constantly kicking, in the literary suburbias of Roth, Cheever, Updike, and Herbert Gold. She is Martha of Albee's WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA WOOLF? and all of those first wives who provide so convenient an excuse for infidelity and divorce in today's domestic novels. She bears little resemblance to Shakespeare's shrew or the familiar "ball and chain" figure, women generally viewed affectionately, and, more important, women who are ultimately tameable, their bark being far worse than their bite. The bitch is no laughing matter; she is a man-eater.

According to Edmund Wilson, she is "the impossible civilized woman who despises the civilized man for his failure in initiative and nerve and then jealously tries to break him down as soon as he begins to exhibit any." She is well-educated, well-married, attractive, intelligent, desirable, admired by her husband, envied by others, the woman who appears to have everything and is totally dissatisfied with it. "They are," says one of Hemingway's characters, himself neither American nor married, "the hardest, the cruelest, the most predatory and the most attractive and their men have softened or gone to pieces nervously as they have hardened." Her constant demands and ever-increasing dissatisfaction are unsolved mysteries to her men, who, like Sinclair Lewis's man who didn't know Coolidge, wistfully wonder ". . . whether with all the great things we got in this greatest nation in the world . . . even with all of this, . . . if we don't lack something in American life, when you consider that you almost never see an American married couple that really like each other and like to be with each other."

A year after having had his character make this observation, Lewis wrote DODSWORTH, the work which assured his nomination for the Nobel Prize in literature, making him the first American to be so honored. It is on the Jamesian theme of a successful businessman's coming of age in Europe, the moment of truth occurring for Dodsworth on page 376 of a 377 page work, when, after twenty years of marriage, he talks back to his wife: "I'm just your attendant . . . I didn't used to mind your embarrassing me and continually putting me in my place. Didn't even know you were doing it. But I do now, and I won't stand for it!" But though Dodsworth and American literature simultaneously reached maturity, American marriage, according to Lewis, continued to be dominated by the Great American Bitch. In 1945, in his "Novels of Husbands and Wives," CASS TIMBERLANE, 99.44% of the homes of Grand Republic are occupied by obedient, attendant husbands and spoiled, dissatisfied wives. One character, thinking about the town " . . . suspected that many husbands were afraid of their wives, quiveringly trying to placate those small tyrants. He wondered

if there was any country save America in which a large share of the men were frightened continuously by their own wives."

It is somewhat surprising to find that the man-eating female in American fiction is not the ambitious career woman competing in a man's world, not the unwomanly intellectual whose mind outweighs her heart, nor the unsexed non-woman, fearful and envious of penis-power. Instead she is always wife and, quite often, mother; she does not work outside the home, except, perhaps as a volunteer, more sociable than social in impulse; she is educated, but not intellectual; well-informed, but not cultivated; her house is usually clean, orderly, well-run, though she is not a housewife in the sense of one devoted to domesticity. Here, perhaps, is both equation and solution: the woman who is neither a career woman nor a housefrau equals the woman without clear-cut identity equals the confused, dissatisfied wife equals the Great American Bitch. The praying-mantis, around which, according to Simone de Beauvoir, has crustallized the myth of devouring femininity, shows her cruelty especially in captivity; but under natural conditions, when she is free in the midst of abundant food, she rarely dines on the male.

When one considers the period during which this figure becomes established in our literature, the picture comes into clearer focus. The two decades from 1900-1920 represent a new high in effort and achievement for American feminism: women were waging the battle for equality. The final battle for the ballot was fought by the growing numbers of college-trained women and won in 1920, the year, according to Betty Freidan, which was the turning-point in woman's identity in America. The most dramatic alteration in the image of the American woman came right after World War I, and the flapper of the 20's remains the symbol of the emancipated woman. She was a joyous symbol: single, free, worldly, independent, confident--and thoroughly unlike the girl who had married dear old Dad.

The old saw, "Imagine the courage it took to be the first man to cook and eat a lobster," might well be applied here, for the writers who came of age during this period--Hemingway, Lewis, Fitzgerald, Anderson--, the writers who created the Great American Bitch (--or did they merely record social history?) were the courageous men who first wooed and won and attempted to set up happy homes with the new, emancipated American woman. Somehow the emphasis on the woman question had failed to acknowledge that here might be a man question, too. If women had new rights and powers, had men lost old ones? If femininity no longer consisted of cooking and sewing and tending the babies, what did it consist of? Or did it cease to exist? What about masculinity? It is surely no coincidence that the themes of sexual identity, of homosexuality, of proving one's manhood in sexual terms, of impotent and unfulfilled lives dominate the literature of the twenties in America.

Consider THE SUN ALSO RISES, that sad novel of the twenties--written in the twenties about the twenties by a writer then in his twenties--a novel in which sexual activity abounds but sexual fulfillment is totally absent. Brett with her "hair brushed back like a boy's," a jersey sweater and tweed skirt, her man's felt hat, her freedom to travel, drink, and talk like one of the chaps, is, nonetheless, "damned attractive," an extremely desirable woman, whose ability to dominate every man she meets dooms her to a life of unfulfillment. This, it should be pointed out, represents a man's view of female fulfillment, explicitly sexual in nature and based on the subordination-domination pattern.

A great many of the people in Hemingway's works seem sexually incomplete, vaguely dissatisfied with their roles in the brave new post-World War I world. In "Cat in the Rain," the young American wife complains:

"I get so tired of it," she said. "I get so tired of looking like a boy." George shifted his position on the bed. He hadn't looked away from her

since she started to speak.

"You look pretty darn nice," he said.

"I want to pull my hair back tight and smooth and make a big knot at the back that I can feel," she said. "I want to have a kitty to sit on my lap and purr when I stroke her."

"Yeah?" George said from the bed.

"And I want to eat at a table with my own silver and I want candles. And I want it to be spring and I want to brush my hair out in front of a mirror and I want a kitty and I want some new clothes."

"Oh, shut up and get something to read," George said.

The perfect squelch! If she is an educated, emancipated woman, she should develop her mind and curb her emotions, choose the intellect over the senses, prefer ideas to things. She is, supposedly, her husband's equal, which does not mean that she is free to develop her own tastes and attitudes as a fellow human being but that she is competent and worthy of sharing his.

What, then, of that new, free spirit--the flapper? At what point does that charming hoyden turn into the Great American Bitch?, a question, incidentally, which might represent the theme of almost all of F. Scott Fitzgerald's work. Notice how subtly, how insidiously, that glorious new freedom is being defined by men: an independent woman, attractive and intelligent though she may be, will never find true happiness or fulfillment; "Shut up and get something to read." Unmated she is incomplete; once mated, she has neither the freedom of self-determination nor the choice of returning to the traditional roles of woman, wife, mother. Political equality, at least as represented by the ballot, had been won, but social equality was still far from a reality. Revising marriage to accommodate equals clearly turned the woman problem into a man problem. Lewis's Cass Timberlane, who believed that "If the world of the twentieth century. . . cannot succeed in . . . married love, then it has committed suicide," remarks on the impulsiveness of his young wife:

> Like all these girls, she feels--and how can you blame her--that she must have her own life. Besides that, I'm no longer the family priest to her or a guide or a refuge; I'm just A Husband.

Thus, the "just-a-housewife" syndrome had become a male disease. Yet, even Cass, good, patient, loving, who understands and sympathizes with his wife's desire for an identity of her own, views the problem of equality as primarily, perhaps exclusively, a sexual one: ". . . in the future of married life, . . . will men have to let their wives have as many lovers as they want?" His reasoning is that in the past women have endured their husbands' infidelities, and it is our turn now. Here the shift from the double standard to a single one, surely a valid part of the struggle for equality, is viewed in traditionally sexist terms: the male pattern is the desirable one, the one sought by females.

It seemed the new woman was cursed with the same old husband, still viewing her unjustly. As Sarah Grimke had said in the 1830's: "Man has inflicted an unspeakable injury upon women, by holding up to her view her animal nature, and placing in the background her moral and intellectual being." For though feminism had concentrated on educational, social, and legislative reform in the fight for equality, men viewed it primarily as a sexual revolution, continuing to think of women as female animals: sex partners and breeders. In truth, almost everyone was afraid of Virginia Woolf--give a woman a room of her own and she would soon be using it for all manner of debauchery. Independence and education are translated into specifically sexual terms; freeing women to think and wonder and seek answers about the world will lead to immodest, immoral bahavior. As ever the liberated woman is equated with the loose one; the quick-witted with the fast. The American woman having asked for the right to become herself is immediately suspected of wanting to be Himself. Beneath all the tragic implications of failed human relationships

in the fiction of Lewis, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Anderson, and those who derive from them, lies a sexism so profound that it can view equality of men and women only in terms of women's being permitted to become men because only men can be equal to men.

. . . . . .

The Great American Bitch as a social type would seem to be a product of that same seething sense of injustice at a promise solemnly made and gratuitously rescinded as is the American Black. She shares what James Baldwin has termed "the rage of the disesteemed," a rage which is

> personally fruitless, but . . . absolutely inevitable . . . this rage . . . is one of the things that makes history. Rage can only with difficulty, and never entirely be brought under the domination of the intelligence . . . Also rage cannot be hidden, it can only be dissembled. This dissembling deludes the thoughtless, and strengthens rage, and adds, to rage, contempt.

Contempt, of course, is of the very essence of the character of the Great American Bitch.

Does this imply, then, that the appearance of the Great American Bitch in our literature is evidence of the writers' sensitivity to social currents, testimony to their abilities to observe carefully and record accurately the tensions of modern marriage? Certainly, she is not unlike the woman Betty Freidan belatedly discovers, the college-educated suburban wife with "the problem that has no name," until Miss Freidan identifies it as a malady stemming from "the fact that American women are kept from growing to their full human capacities."

Unfortunately, the Great American Bitch, who becomes Everywife in the American literary suburbias of the 60's and probably 70's, signifies something much more sinister than an accurate social observation by naturalistic writers. For male American fiction writers, unlike de Beauvoir and Freidan, present this character not as a victim, but as a cause. She is to blame for marital unhappiness, infidelity, divorce, alienation. Men have, in Hemingway's words, "softened or gone to pieces nervously," because of her; in Wilson's words, she is "the impossible civilized woman," the clue to disintegration of accord between the sexes. Refusing to be soft and passive, she has made it impossible for her mate to be tough and aggressive. Casting off her femininity, she destroys his masculinity, and then scorns his weakness. Rarely in the extensive literature of bitchery is it suggested that society, conditioning, the specific institutions of patriarchy, marriage, and/or the nuclear family may need revision in order to stem the general dissatisfaction and unhappiness, the extensive and profound failure of human relationships in American life. Instead, all accusing fingers for five decades have been pointed at the Great American Bitch. Depicted exclusively in the restricted sphere of home and social life, which she appears to dominate, she is rarely viewed in her true powerlessness, far removed from any source of significant decision making. The Great American Bitch of fiction, therefore, is more myth than reality, a fabrication used to maintain the status quo. She is a figure about whom a whole cluster of values and taboos cling: women's fight for equality was a mistake, look at the unhappiness it has caused, the guilt and conflict it has generated; women are not meant for civilization but are at their best when natural, instinctive, accepting of anatomical destiny and total dependency. By being so thoroughly hateful, the Great American Bitch of fiction reinforces the sexist view: true happiness is based on True Womanhood, feminine subordination which supports maleness in its wish for domination.

I do not mean in any way to denigrate the literary accomplishment of the authors referred to: Hemingway, Lewis, Fitzgerald are giants of twentieth

DÉJÀ VUS, Cont'd

century fiction here and abroad. I do think, however, we need to reevaluate our critical judgments to be careful in applying sweeping critical terms: realistic, acute social observers, universal in theme and values. They present a specifically male view, and, more significantly, a threatened male view of their times and ours, and it is in the female characters they create that the nature of their fears and wishes may be found. It is from these fears and wishes that the Great American Bitch evolved.

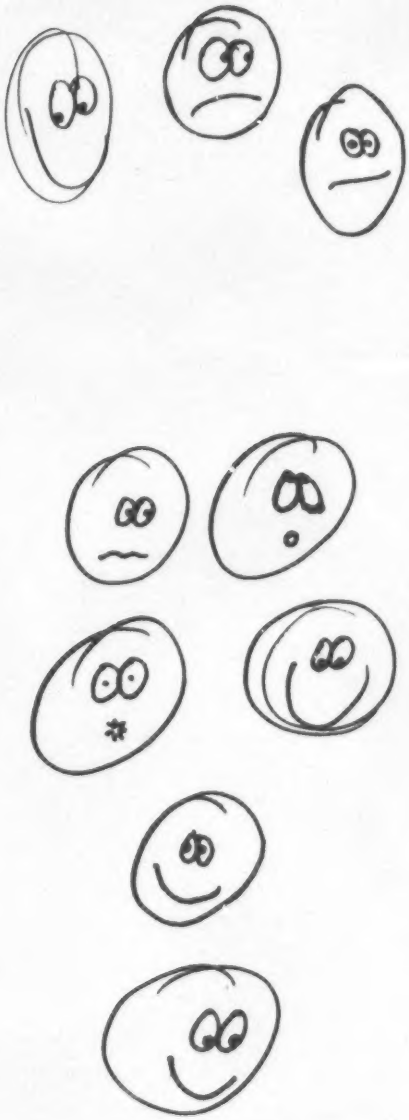
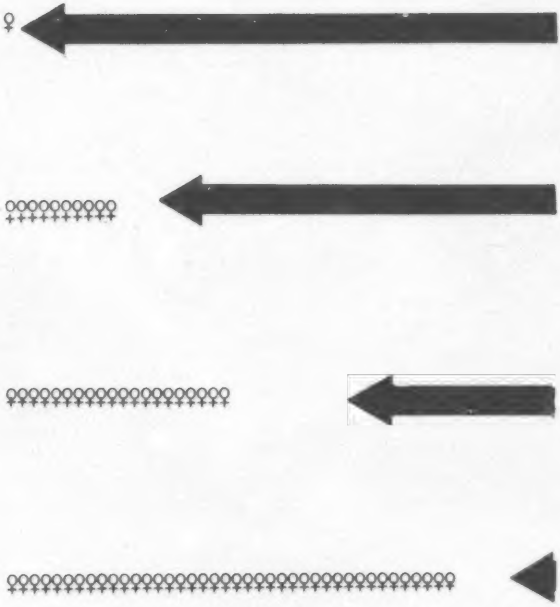
You have heard about The American Adam, now consider . . .

CONTEMPLATING "THE AMERICAN EVE"

BY LILLIAN SCHLISSEL
AMERICAN STUDIES, BROOKLYN COLLEGE
MEMBER OF ASA COMMISSION ON WOMEN

Teaching the major pieces of nineteenth century American literature, I have been struck through the years by the perception of the utterly disparate portraits of women in the works of male and female writers. The great heroines of the period, Hester Prynne, Isabel Archer, even, if we may so consider her, the Virgin as heroine to Henry Adams,--each of these ladies looms larger than life. Her actions partake of the classical form and her dimensions are heroic. She overshadows the men about her, and her strength is essential to the conception of her nature. Henry James saw America itself as the "heiress of all the ages," signifying the nation's fortune and grace in the long annals of recorded history. Isabel Archer represented supple intelligence and freedom. Hawthorne saw Hester Prynne as embodying the energy of will and passion. For Adams, the Virgin was the essence of creation and of love. Each characterization was a source of energy, a powerful selfhood which carried men, willing and unwilling, along in the current of their personalities. So overwhelming were these women that D.H. Lawrence, superbly sensitive to the friction of the balance-wheels between the sexes, wrote "Hester Prynne was a devil." Women, in the works of the major male writers of the nineteenth century, were cast in a mighty mold.

On the other hand, when we turn to the writing of women, to Willa Cather, Edith Wharton, Ellen Glasgow, Sarah Orne Jewett, we find heroines who bear little likeness to their cousins described above. Lily Bart and Ellen Olenska are prisoners of a society which demands that women marry and leave love and selfhood aside as unattainable luxuries. Every exertion they make against the strictures of propriety and circumstance knots tighter the cords that bind them, and in the end they are exhausted and defeated. It is no accident that Gertrude Stein, in her THREE LIVES, published in 1909, draws her women as servants and negroes. Tormented Melanctha Herbert strains every fiber of her being to escape her lot, and finds her prison shrinks with every effort.

The thesis one must venture is that the patterns of American fiction which we have so far constructed--and considered universal--patterns dealing with the nature of innocence and with the nature of adolescence and experience--apply in reality to the male in America. We have still to discover the patterns of experience that hold true for women. Where men have seen women as possessed of new freedoms in the New World, women have not similarly seen themselves as free. She has tended to see her life in images of entrapment and failure. The literature points to the wide discrepancy that exists in American culture between the life of women as conceived by men, and the life of women as endured by women.

In conclusion one might suggest that the characterization of a woman which will stand most strongly in twentieth century American fiction is that of the black ex-slave Dilsey in William Faulkner's THE SOUND AND THE FURY. Of Dilsey, Faulkner wrote that she endured in "tears--abnegation and time."